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JUNE 35¢

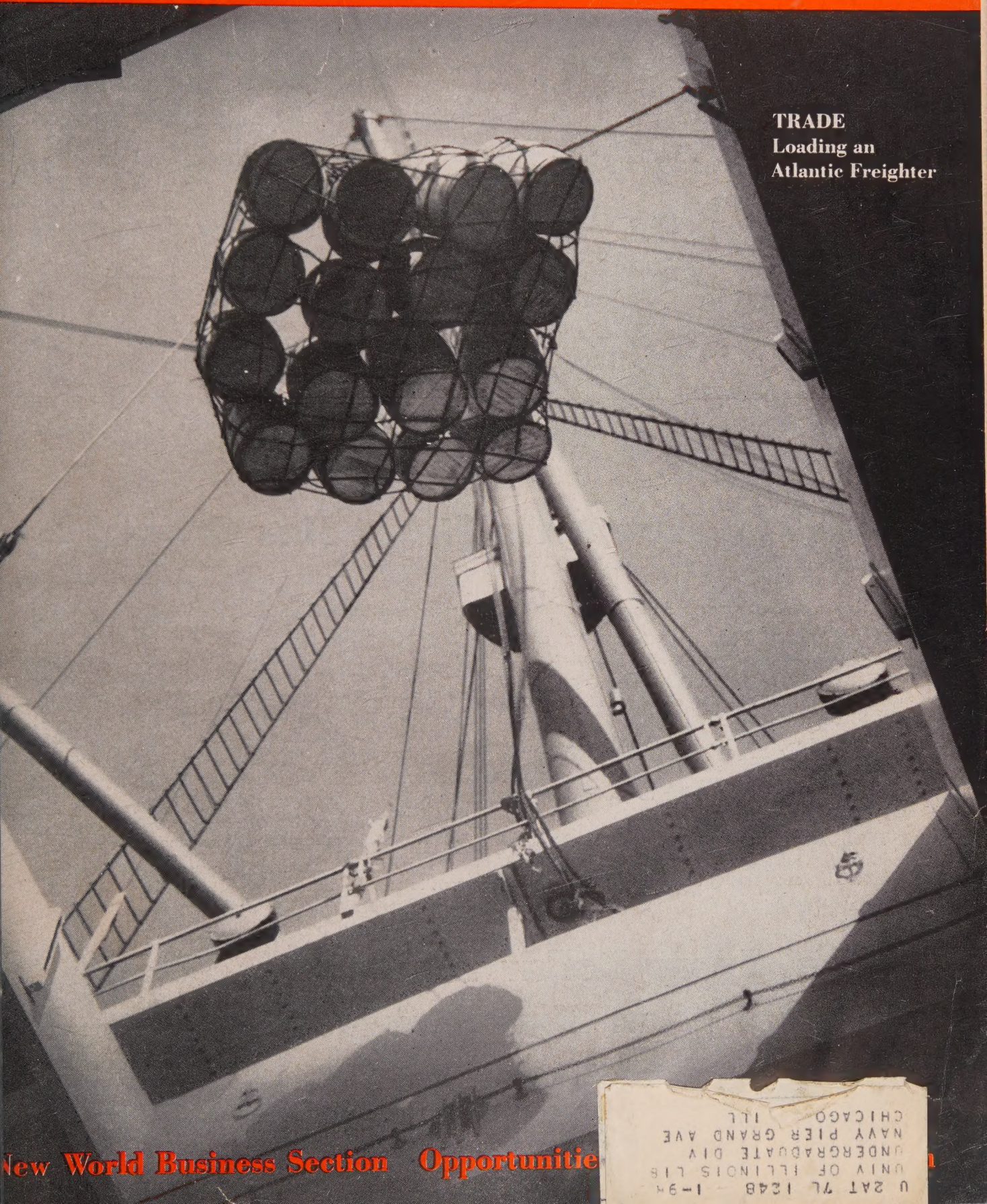
United Nations WORLD

THE INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE

WHAT STALIN THINKS

An Intelligence Report to Truman

BY ADMIRAL ZACHARIAS



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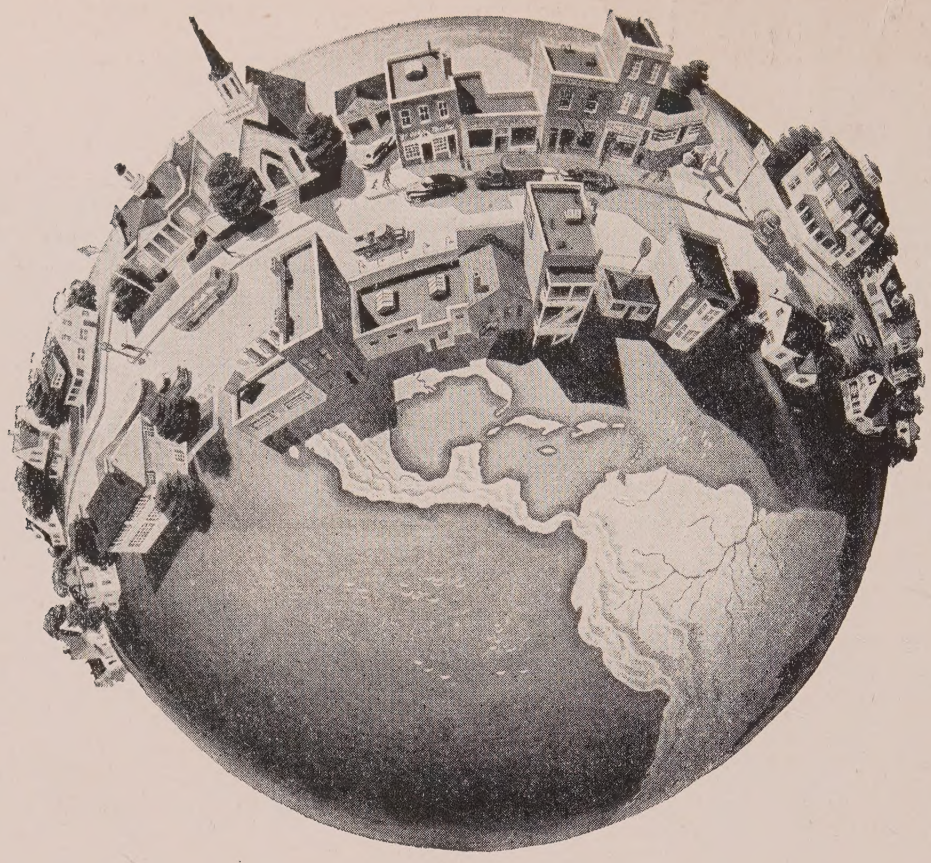

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STATE OF THE WORLD

EUROPE'S NEW MILITARY CONCEPTS EXPLAINED
SUGGESTED CALENDAR REVISION
HOW BOGOTA CALLED IT QUITS WITH MOSCOW

Ministries Agree War Will Not Come During 1948

For the first time since the collapse of the four-power Foreign Ministers conference on Germany last November, the danger of war for 1948 is being discounted in the highest international political and diplomatic circles. This confirms the stand taken in its May issue by this magazine.

The only dark spot is Palestine. However, most statesmen are convinced that war in the Holy Land can be localized. Insiders can see no immediate strategic conflicts in the tragic Palestine situation that could precipitate a full-scale clash between the US and the USSR.

East, West and Neutral Back Trend Toward Peace

Consequences of the breathing spell are already manifest in many parts of the world. The first important consequence is that Europe, by and large, is not participating in the armament race in which at present only the US, and USSR and Yugoslavia are engaged. (See World Battle Order, page 28.)

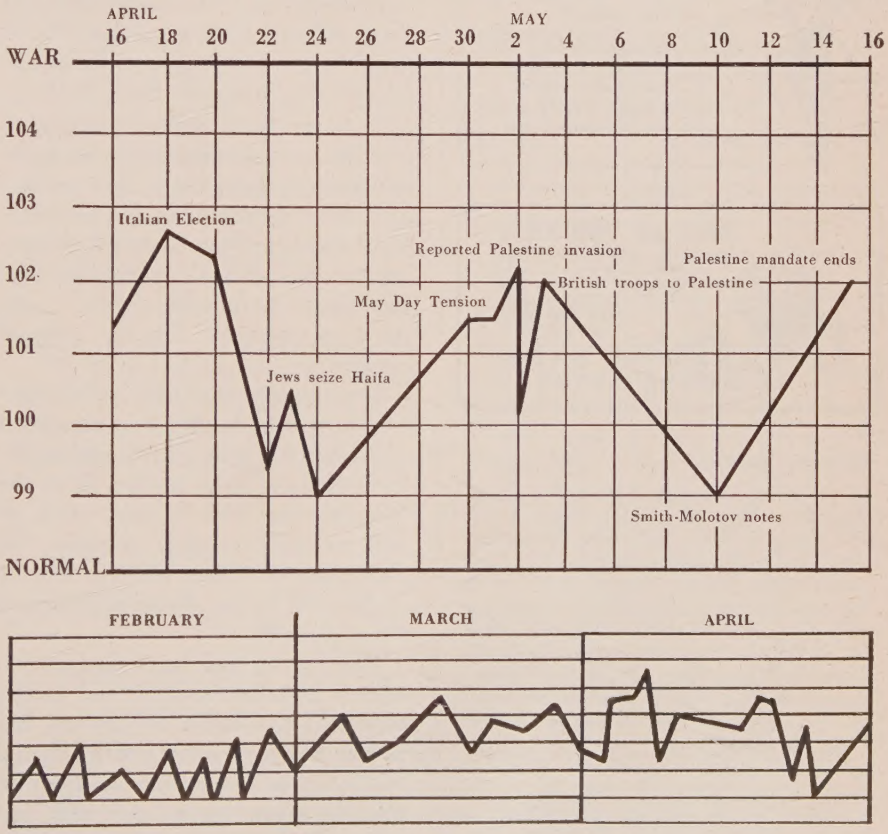
Unlike those of their American counterparts, stocks of European companies engaged in businesses which boom in wartime have shown no appreciable increases. Most European countries are devoting their major efforts to reconstruction.

The many unreported but bitter battles raging behind the closed doors of inner cabinets — in London and Paris, but also in Washington and Moscow — between those who advocated vastly increased national defense programs and those who set economic reconstruction as the primary objective, have been decided in favor of the latter.

This development is reported to UNW from all the major capitals of the world.

- In Washington, Secretary of State George C. Marshall declared: "The emphasis often placed solely on the military aspects of world affairs does a disservice to the cause of peace," provoking irate charge of "appeasement" from those who place the emphasis.
- In Moscow, Marshal Bulganin, speaking "in the name and upon instructions of the Soviet Government," reiterated that "the Soviet people are now as before vitally interested in a lasting and stable peace." Major Russian preoccupation, Bulganin stressed, is "the punctual fulfillment of production quotas in the third, decisive year of the Five Year Plan."
- In London, Sir Stafford Cripps, economic master of Britain, has gained full cabinet approval for the continuation of his all-out drive aimed at the re-establishment of sound British economy. Sir Stafford's victory was scored at the expense of the Imperial General Staff whose high-ranking planners, citing the international situation, asked for higher appropriations for national defense.
- In Paris, Finance Minister Rene Meyer has scored a similar victory in the privacy of the cabinet. His colleagues agreed after spirited debate to shelve General Staff proposals for increased armament expenditures, in favor of long-range economic planning and increased production of export and consumer goods.
- In Stockholm, where apprehension was rampant while the Russo-Finnish negotiations for a mutual assistance pact dragged on, only to vanish at once with a nation-wide sigh of relief when the terms of the treaty were announced, General Helge Jung, Sweden's top soldier, failed to get the substantial new military credits he was asking for.

FEVER CHART OF WORLD TENSION



APRIL HIGH came with the Italian elections. The following decline ended with flareups in Palestine. The Smith-Molotov notes brought a new recession, but the temperature soared thereafter and was still rising when the Palestine mandate ended.

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• In neighboring Oslo, Foreign Minister Halvard Lange told UNW correspondent that Norway is not indifferent to the colossal struggle between the East and West, but it will under no circumstances be a party to a step that would increase the tension between the Great Powers.

Western Europe Adopts New Military Doctrines

What has actually happened in Europe is a complete reorientation of the whole military doctrine that existed before and between World Wars I and II.

1. The concept of individual national defense has been abandoned in Western Europe and has been replaced by the concept of co-ordination of Western European armies through permanent General Staff Committees.

2. The concept of static defense through such fortifications as the Maginot Line and others has been exchanged for the idea of mobile and air defenses by skilled specialist troops within the various branches of the armed forces.

3. The Western European governments have accepted, by and large, the theory of the co-ordination — some even call it subordination — of their military strategy and tactics to the US, relying on "Lend-Lease" to furnish the necessary equipment.

4. Compulsory military service to provide mass armies continues to be maintained, furnishing, first, service and maintenance units for the technical combat forces; second, instruments of political education and guardians of internal order; and, third, a reservoir for the colonial armies.*

The only aspect of their military activities which the Western European countries jealously guard against intervention, or even advice, from the US, concerns their colonial units, as well as their colonial strategy. On these matters, closest military secrecy is observed by the Western European General Staffs.

One cannot find this reluctance to discuss colonial strategy and tactics expressed in official documents. But in private conversations with colonial administrators and generals there inevitably crops up a very real suspicion of American motives and intentions with regard to the overseas possessions of European countries.

The Soviet States Set Up A Series of "Military Circles"

What is only a trend in Western Europe is already an accomplished fact within the Eastern Bloc. The strategic co-ordination between the USSR and countries within her orbit was completed on March 26, one month after the elimination of anti-Communist elements from the Czechoslovak Government.

On that day, a consultative military system was definitely established under Gen. Alexander Vasilevsky of the Soviet General Staff as supreme co-ordinator. This represents a centralization of the defenses of the whole Eastern and Central European area under Soviet leadership.

The Soviet system of strategic defenses has three basic characteristics which distinguish it from those of the Western European military orientation:

1. Mechanized land forces, aided by heavy artillery and air forces, remain the strategic foundation of the Soviet military concept, in contrast to US and Western European thinking where land armies are expected to play a subsidiary role in military strategy.

2. Peace and war production are under identical military leadership at the industrial management level thus eliminating *a priori* any delay in the prompt co-ordination of the various branches of national activity in any emergency.

3. Supreme overall control of the military and of production, in peace and in war, remains concentrated in the hands of political, civilian elements.

The Eastern System of military defense co-ordination is a circular one. An all-encompassing greater circle represents overall Soviet control and interest, within which are seven unicentric circles. All of these circles overlap all of the others as well as the larger Russian one. This overlapping of the seven smaller with the large represents a series of bi-lateral treaties between the USSR and each one of the countries within its sphere of influence. The overlapping of the seven small circles represents the series of

*It should be borne in mind that the emphasis on combat forces composed of technical specialists is still, to a large extent, in idea form. The idea cannot be executed immediately without machines, fuel and vast quantities of equipment from the US. In consequence, UNW's Battle Order (page 28) reflects the current actuality and not the plan.

bi-lateral treaties concluded by every one of the neighboring countries with each of the others.

Contrary to the strategic concepts of the West, the Soviets do not favor oversized co-ordinating bodies. In the East, there will be no permanent multinational general staff committees such as those established by the five countries of the Western European Union. The Soviets are convinced that effective co-ordination requires overall authority and direct bi-lateral responsibility.

They believe that each satellite state can make an optimum contribution only under an arrangement whereby officers and men, engineers and factory workers, scientists and technicians in every country within the Soviet orbit learn to co-operate with each other and establish flexible, inter-changeable units in the gigantic military apparatus.

The circular system of the Soviet Orbit is subject of considerable argument in the West, with several schools ready to acknowledge its superior practical value. Soviet military experts do not conceal their belief that, from a military point of view, the Western system of loose co-ordination is likely to fail. They see as its great weakness the maintenance of sovereignty both within the Western European bloc and in its relations with the US.

A Sequel To The Bogota Story

BOGOTA. At 10:30 a.m. on May 3, a distinguished-looking young Colombian made his way through the rubble of rebellion from the Foreign Ministry in San Carlos Palace to a villa at 62-72 Carrera Septima, housing the Soviet Legation. He was a young aide in Roberto Pinto Valderrama's Protocol Division, on his first major diplomatic mission.

It was too early in the morning, the Legation Chancellery wasn't open yet. So the young attaché went around to the Residence, gave his card to a butler, was shown into a study and introduced to Evgeni Fedin, Stalin's charge d'affaires in Bogota. He handed Fedin a long note signed by Eduardo Zuleta Angel, Colombia's new Foreign Minister.

Evgeni Fedin expected a note from San Carlos Palace — but not this note. A few days before he himself had delivered one to the Ministry's Secretary General, protesting the seizure and examination of secret Legation papers, during the uprising. Now his protest was given a short answer. Señor Zuleta told the Soviet envoy to get out of Colombia "within the shortest possible time." The two countries' five-year-old diplomatic relations were broken.

Fedin accepted the blow with an impassive shrug. Soviet diplomats are used to expulsion. But when the full text of the note was published, international lawyers refused to share Fedin's philosophical *nichevo*.

The second paragraph, in Señor Zuleta's politely insulting note read: "Due not only to a great geographical distance but also to the fundamental differences in regard to the concept of the State itself, our two nations lack all useful contact."

Diplomatic historians and political scientists describe Señor Zuleta's note as a blow to international co-operation. Moscow may be far away from Bogota, they concede, but the Colombian delegate sits only five chairs away from Andrei Gromyko on the UN Security Council.

The note to Fedin had lain on Zuleta's desk ever since "The Angel." (his nickname among diplomats in Bogota), moved into San Carlos. Even before the first shot of the uprising was fired, President Ospina's rightist administration resolved to sever Colombia's embarrassing ties with Russia. By the light of Bogota's burning public buildings, attaches of the *Ministerio* started work on the final form of the draft which was delivered to Fedin — 24 days later.

The three and a half week delay was caused by reluctant newcomers in the President's cabinet. The Liberals he was forced to admit during the rebellion refused at first to approve the break with Russia — but too late to prevent Bogota Radio, to which premature news was flashed from the Palace, from advertising the break.

Once inside the Ospina Cabinet, the truculent Liberals succumbed to all-round persuasion. They were shown top-secret Soviet papers confiscated during the rebellion which indicated widespread Soviet activities. Fellow Latinos and informal Norteamericanos worked to convince them that there is really no need for Fedin and his three aides in Bogota.

The document of April 9 was dusted off. The Protocol Division alerted. The note delivered. Only 24 days behind schedule but not too late for President Ospina. To him, the Soviet Legation at Carrera Septima had been an eyesore ever since his own envoy, General Domino Espinel, quit Moscow in undiplomatic disgust.

Ehrenburg's Cure For May Day Rashes

MOSCOW. An item in a Paris daily provoked Ilya Ehrenburg to sardonic mocking, scorn recently. "For half a century," the French paper wrote in an editorial against Marxist monopoly of May 1, "left extremists have been poisoning the coming of spring and smothering innocent snowdrops with the red carnation of hatred."

In answer Ehrenburg first argued gently that "social changes do not follow the calendar." Then he struck his stride and suggested a "solution." "Many hotels," he wrote, "have no room No. 13. Thirteen is supposed to be an unlucky number — so after 12 comes 12-A and then 14.

"Perhaps enterprising publishers will soon be putting out calendars in which April 30 will be followed by April 30-A — and then by May 2."

15-Second Report on the STATE OF THE WORLD

ECONOMICALLY: *The sun of increased world trade breaking through (see page 51);*
POLITICALLY: *Dark, cloudy, slight silver lining around edges;*
MORALLY: *Low but slightly rising;*
MILITARILY: *Atomic race unchecked; bacteriological and gas races continue; no official counteraction;*
EDUCATIONALLY: *UNESCO budget still among smallest;*
SPIRITUALLY: *A vacuum;*
THE UN: *A faithful reflection of the state of the world: somewhat reassured by Marshall statement.*

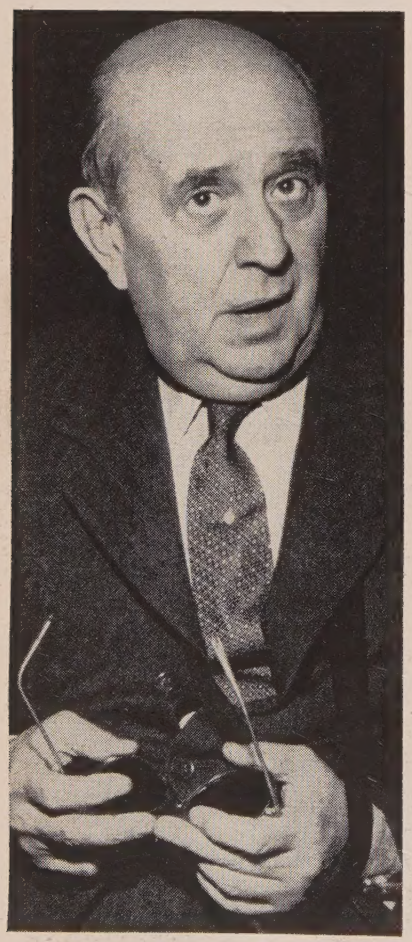
BY HARRIS WOFFORD

Founder of Student Federalists which has been absorbed by United World Federalists, Inc.

THIS IS THE CHOICE JAN MASARYK MADE — THE CHOICE THAT LED TO DEATH IN A PRAGUE COURTYARD

Perhaps a Corpse

Never Again a Refugee



JAN MASARYK was an earthy, friendly, man — and nervous. Here in lieu of a cigaret, he fingers his spectacles, rubs his double chin thoughtfully on his collar.

"Don't publish this until I'm dead — and I hope you have a long wait," Jan Masaryk warned me jovially in Prague last August 15. "If you do, I'll lose my job." I was interviewing the Czech Foreign Minister in the apartment from which he leaped or fell to his death seven months later.

He had talked to me frankly, providing off-the-record background for newspaper stories I was writing on the Prague World Youth Festival.

At that time Masaryk felt optimistic about Czechoslovakia's endeavor to find a democratic middle way between Russian and American systems. Contemptuously he showed me a clipping from an American newspaper with the then premature headline: "Red Rule in Prague." It had been sent to him by a friend in New Jersey who had scrawled across it: "For God's sake, Jan, get out while you can. Your earning power in the US is over $50,000 a year."

The Foreign Minister protested earnestly: "If we succeed here in synthesizing the best of East and West, the reward to the soul will be worth far more than $50,000. If we fail, then my New Jersey friend won't be commuting to work so complacently anymore."

Throughout the interview Jan Masaryk's sense of humor was often evident. His talk was full of American slang, and salted with profanity an Army drill sergeant could hardly surpass. He spoke from his heart as if he had a message to tell and had found too few listeners.

"I don't believe in a God with Whiskers, but I do have faith in a spirit of something good and eternal in man. My hope is that the deep well of liberalism in Czechoslovakia will see that this free spirit is never killed."

He explained his position on Czech nationalization: "Socialize everything, I say, but don't lay a finger on freedom of thought. For us, the Carnegie days are gone — the industry must be controlled and the economy planned — but the people's soul must be free."

I had come to see Masaryk as a delegate to the Youth Festival, a representative of US college students. Jan Masaryk, I believe, had faith in youth. Through the large window behind him half a year later he must have watched several thousand Prague students march, under fire, to protest against the Communist seizure of power. From this window he could see the rolling hills of the land he loved. For a man with a great zest for life — for jokes, for cooking, for music, for friendship — suicide was a supreme decision.

From what Masaryk told me I can understand his dilemma. He had to decide how long his conscience would let him lend his and his father's name to the Communist government. Exile he ruled out. His life in London during the war, while his people were suffering Nazi occupation, had been hard on his conscience. He told friends: "Perhaps a corpse, but never again a refugee." He had to find a way to make his opposition known, but he feared that leadership of violent popular resistance would result only in a terrible bloodletting which might arouse America to war with Russia.

"War between America and Russia would be insanity," he said. "It would solve nothing, and at the very least it would end European civilization. I am optimistic enough to think that both sides will realize that war is suicide. I cannot believe that there are men so insane as to consider war seriously."

"If any Americans are thinking about war because of their atomic bombs, tell them that the Russians

may have even more terrible biological weapons. For God's sake, tell them war is not the way to win the hearts of men."

The last thing Masaryk wanted was to incite America to an anti-Russian crusade. "America," he said, "must offer the world a positive program, not such negative nonsense as the Truman Doctrine. It must understand that the only rational attitude is One World — the only sane goal World Government. Until America sees these things and wholeheartedly works for them, what in hell can the rest of us do."

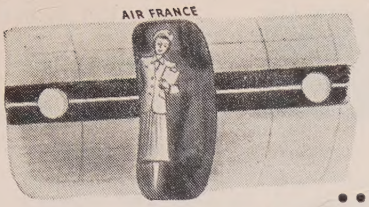
He was bitter about the American foreign policy as it affected his own small country. "I would like to tell Truman a thing or two, but I suppose he wouldn't listen. He wrote us off as a 'red' country when we didn't go to Paris. That attitude is an open invitation for Russia to do what she wants with us. We had hoped America would understand our predicament and give us an occasional pat on the back. All we've had is the cold shoulder."

He was particularly disturbed by weak US participation in the World Youth Festival in Prague. "Your State Department discouraged attendance of America's youth leaders, and you only had a sorry little team of fellow-travelers which made America look silly compared to the Russians. If I were young again, I wouldn't be afraid of competing with the Communists. I would go in fighting offering world youth greater ideals than Communism."

When I left him he was standing quietly by the large window. "Don't be discouraged," he said. "This world leadership business is a new challenge for the US. I have a hell of a lot of faith in your people. I am praying America will learn in time that people everywhere are waiting for the spirit of Abraham Lincoln to be applied to the world."

How Does Czechoslovakia Fit Into Stalin's Plan?

See Page 10



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HOW PEOPLE LIVE

CAPTAIN BLIGH AND PREFABRICATION

PRENATAL SIN IN BALI

AT THE LAST, THERE WERE NO MEATBALLS

Apostles Restored

The famous old Apostle Clock on the ancient Town Hall of Prague will soon tell the hours again. The Germans damaged the Hall and the Clock in 1945; now both are almost rebuilt. The Town Hall dates back to 1232. The clock, completed in 1490, was the work of Hanush, mathematics professor at Charles University. The figures of the 12 apostles who file solemnly out each hour were painted by the noted 19th-Century Czech artist, Joseph Manes. The parade of the apostles is preceded by a skeleton, symbolizing death, which emerges from within the clock every hour on the hour and tells the time with hammer strokes on a bell — while a rich man tries to bribe him with coins.

As well as the hour, Prague's Apostle Clock tells the day, the month and the positions of the sun and moon.

Vital Altitudes

Studies made by the Rockefeller Institute in Bolivia show that the life span in the Andes goes up as the altitude decreases. The life span of the people living over 3,000 meters up, in an average year-round temperature of 10 degrees, is 31 years. It goes up to 34 years in the lower level of 1,000-3,000 meters high (temperature 12 degrees), and Bolivians living less than a thousand meters up, in a temperature of 15 degrees, live to an average of 37 years. The birth rate is higher also in the lower altitudes.

The Hand of Friendship

The "twain" did meet recently, in medicine, when the 300-bed Kosciuszko Hospital opened at Piekary, in heavily industrialized Upper Silesia (Poland).

Built and equipped by the Unitarian Service Committee of America and Poland's National Social Insurance Institute, it will be staffed by Americans and Poles. Latest American methods and techniques will be used in the hospital. It will have Poland's first blood bank and will concentrate on traumatic surgery, using modern anesthesia techniques, and on occupational diseases and tuberculosis.

The hospital has a modern laboratory, stocks of penicillin and other new drugs, X-ray facilities, American food for special diets and convalescents, a fine medical reference library and completely equipped operating rooms. The hospital's name is that of the famous Pole who aided George Washington during the Revolution.

I Knew Him When . . .

One of the best bartenders in Mexico City used to be Hitler's waiter. As a boy of 14, Mexican-born Rodolfo Samayoa went to Germany to study the hotel trade. After four years study in Hamburg, he graduated to Berlin's Atlantic Hotel, where Hitler frequently occupied suite 311 and banqueted with Goering, Hess, Goebbels and others. Rodolfo says Hitler's self-indulgence involved meatballs and a glass or two of Rhine wine. The Mexican last saw Hitler in 1943 when a sober group with dark circles under their eyes met at the Atlantic. The menu: canned meat and sauerkraut.

Fish and Fowl

Britain recently flew a shipment of trout eggs, the first since start of World War II, to Kenya to restock Kenyan streams. Trout eggs are also going to the Falkland Islands in the Antarctic. . . . Venezuela has set out to acclimate foreign aquatic species to her waters. Her first experiment is with 200,000 baby turtles flown down from the United States and destined to develop into soup stock in Lake Valencia near Maracay. . . . The American Museum of Natural History is establishing a research center in Bimini, Bahama, to study the habits of fish. . . .

Survival Quotient

With a battle ration of 1 to 1, New York — population 8 million — has launched an offensive against an enemy that is clever and dangerous and that can marshall replacements with great speed: the city's 8 million rats. Last year the rodents bit 423 persons and caused material damage estimated at from $18,000,000 to $45,000,000, mainly to food. In addition, the rats carry diseases: bubonic plague, typhus, trichinosis and a form of jaundice. There will be no easy victory, warns New York's embattled Health Department. For "rats are wily and clever in finding food and shelter, and they have unusually high survival intelligence."

T. V. A. Goes to India

India's first multi-purpose river valley project got under way this spring. It will cost $145,000,000 and take six years to finish. The project is expected to bring agricultural and industrial prosperity to the province of Orissa which has a population of 12,000,000 and is one of the most backward areas of India. A 150-foot dam will be built across the Mahanadi River and six irrigation canals dug to irrigate 100,000 acres.

Twins for Trouble

The birth of twins, a catastrophe for poor parents in Bali, is a cause for rejoicing among the aristocracy. This curious bilateralism appears, in both cases, to be a cultural holdover from ancient pagan times.

Any twins are considered freaks among the common Balinese, but boy and girl twins are calamitous. The newborn infants are considered guilty of prenatal incest, their parents share their guilt and the village is tainted by their sin.

Following such a birth, the entire family is forced to move to unholy ground and live there until an elaborate cleansing ceremony has been performed. The costs of hiring priests, orchestras, dancers, buying food and drink often bankrupts a family.

The father is expected to pay all costs; if he cannot carry it alone, the village foots the bill — because its sin is not wiped out until the offended dieties have been appeased.

Among the nobles, however, birth of boy and girl twins is regarded as a joyful reincarnation in which faithful, noble spouses are reborn already married. In the past such noble twins did frequently marry and even now such matings are known to occur.

Pitcairn Pedagog

The first official school teacher has arrived at Pitcairn Island in the Pacific, bringing his prefabricated home and school house with him from England. Mr. A. W. Moverly, a New Zealander with more than 20 years' teaching experience, was appointed for one year by Britain to run the first government school on this little island whose 200 inhabitants are descendants of the Bounty mutineers and Polynesian women. The school is financed by the sale of Pitcairn Island stamps. Up to now, education on the island has been in the hands of a Seventh Day Adventist Mission.

The Feminine Incentive

Female members of Australia's 1948 Olympic team don't believe in hiding their charms under man-tailored blazer jackets. A Sydney dress designer, Bill Lutton, has prepared a new costume — form-fitting jackets with tuxedo lapels. Says Mr. Lutton, "I'm sure the girls will perform much betture if smartly dressed.

Money Under Trees

A group of children in the Bharatpur State of India recently unearthed one of the largest hoards of ancient coins to date. In the village of Nagla Chhela a river changed its course and left the roots of a big tree exposed. Children, bidden to tend cattle nearby, explored and found a copper pot of copper buttons which an elder recognized as gold mohurs. It is believed that more than 200 of the coins were melted down before police confiscated the treasure and turned it over to Benares Hindu University. A total of 1,821 gold pieces were recovered. Preliminary study establishes that the hoard dates from the Gupta Era (350-650 A. D.), Golden Age of ancient India.

Art For All

Mexican apostles of paintings, known as the Cuña Group, are planning a traveling art school. It will be housed in a truck which will tour the republic, distributing materials and giving free lessons to the people. This is an outgrowth of the group's eight-year program to promote painting and art schools. One of its accomplishments was establishment of mural painting classes for students whose wall-surfaces are those of Mexico's penitentiary.

"Water, Water Everywhere . . ."

Curaçao has decided to experiment with artificial rain after much consultation with General Electric's research laboratory in Schenectady. Rainfall is especially low in Curaçao's three leeward islands and Curaçao itself uses distilled sea water for half of its daily consumption of a quarter million gallons.

High Bovine Brows

A farmer in Natal, South Africa, reports as follows. "Recently I rigged up a phonograph at the door of my barn. On the *veldt* stretching away from the door, cattle were grazing peacefully. But as soon as I started up with a piano record of Chopin's 'Grande Valse Brilliante,' every cow within 200 yards stopped feeding and listened attentively, while those closer edged near to the fence. I then put on a band record, and immediately the cows lost interest and resumed feeding."

Day for Youth

Opening of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey means a holiday for the children (because in their hands rests the future of the New Turkey). Delegations of small fry call on President Inonu in Ankara with flowers and make small speeches. They leave with a smile and a bag of candy. Throughout Turkey, the day is celebrated with children's parties, songs and dances. For that day only movies admit youngsters without charge and taxis give them free rides.

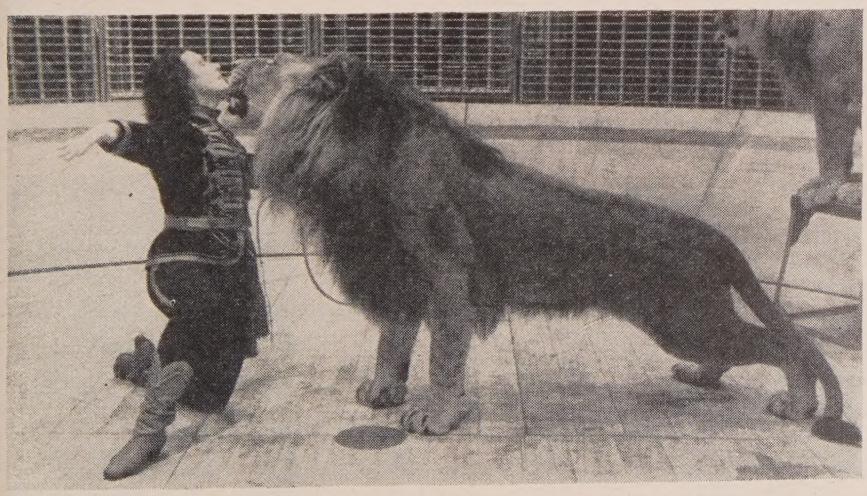
How Do People Live?

In China, pawnshops charge interest on loans at the rate of 36 percent. Of this interest, 29 percent stays in the proprietor's pocket and the rest goes to his employees. The average pawnshop clerk earns about 1,000,000 Chinese dollars a month. This isn't out of line. Upper white-collar (called "golden bowl" jobs in China) bring around $5 million a month. Even so, wages are lagging behind inflation. Latest figures show that it costs 8.84 million dollars a month for a Chinese family of three to live.

Numismatic Notes

Olympic commemorative stamps are being printed by Britain, Austria and Switzerland. . . . Iran has issued a series of handsome stamps whose surcharge will go to preserve national monuments such as Darius' Palace. . . . The Philippines have issued a stamp with the United Nations insignia in honor of the recent conference of the Economic Commission of Asia and Far East. . . . India is commemorating the death of the "Father of the Nation" with a stamp honoring Mahatma Gandhi. . . . New Spanish airmail stamps will bear the portraits of Manuel de Falla, composer of the popular "Fire Dance" and ballet music for "The Three Cornered Hat," and of Ignacio Zuloaga, noted modern Spanish painter.

WHERE THE CIRCUS STAYS IN TOWN



THE CASUAL LADY trainer, who kneels to rub chins with several hundred pounds of open-mouthed lion, performs in Moscow's permanent circus. The year-around circus is a feature of nearly every Soviet city. There are even government-run circus schools.

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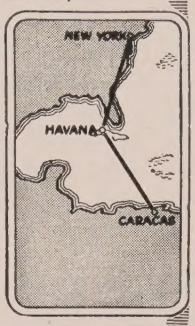

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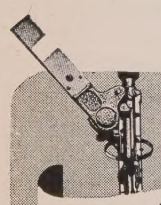

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1948 — BRITAIN — HOST TO THE OLYMPICS

BRITISH RAILWAYS

Letters

TO THE EDITOR

World Work Camps

I wish to propose through your magazine the establishment of a world wide network of work camps for the youth of all nations. There is available a sufficient body of experience on how to conduct such camps. Their purpose should be to educate and unite youth by encouraging them in symbolic deeds of reconstruction, first in Europe and later in Asia and the Americas. The program would be to live, to work and to exchange ideas.

Organized with such a purpose and program, the willing hands of young people of many lands could lend not only symbolic but practical help in the task of postwar reconstruction.

Life in the camps should be exceedingly simple, the mental fare, not the food, should be rich. Famous men, scientists, writers, artists of the host country should visit each camp and lecture to, or otherwise communicate with, the student-workers.

Here is the proposition in a nutshell: Young people would be offered a trip to a foreign country. In turn they would work to help rebuild an area devasted by war or nature. In working with other young people they would make friends on an international basis and would become interested with their whole being in the work for peace and the strengthening of the United Nations.

DR. RICHARD GOTHE

Dam at Gibraltar

Being a dam-building engineer, I was very much interested in the article entitled "A Dam at Gibraltar" (May UNW). . . . The article says Gibraltar Dam will be "incredibly expensive." Let's take a hurried glance, and see:

Gibraltar Dam is simply a material-handling problem, no different in principle from other engineering works.

Assuming the dam would be a rock fill, roughly 1,000 feet average depth, 500 feet wide at top and toes having slopes of 1-1/2 to 1 (1 on 1-1/2), with an approximate length of 50,000 feet., this makes roughly 4 billion cubic yards. Figuring 25¢ a cubic yard for excavation and haulage, this means $1 billion — compared with an estimated $2 billion for the new sea level canal at Panama.

So you see the Gibraltar Dam need not be "incredibly expensive" at all! Of course, the regulating works and appurtenances, etc., will be extra.

EDWARD O. KEATOR
Dayton, Ohio

Time for Prayer

The following is my prayer for Peace and Good Will on earth. I have worked for World Peace for over 40 years, and am now 78:

Our divine Creator, who hath made of one blood all nations of men and intended them to reflect Thy divine good nature on earth, help us fulfill that will of Thine. Thy light of love of mankind showed the Wise Men the highest expression of Thyself to humanity many years ago. May this light now lead the wise men of today to that universal birth of Good Will expressed as an organization of United Nations, which seems a rainbow of promised "Peace on earth and good will."

King War, fearing the loss of power in the mind and heart of mankind, is determined to kill this young expression of God's will on earth. We know that if men are wise and look to Thy divine Wisdom for guidance, peace is assured, for Thy power is beyond all the deceptions of war.

Thine be the kingdom of Love. Amen.

ALICE H. ALLEN
Springfield, Ohio

Palestine and Peace

In the Halls of the United Nations, repository of the hopes, ideals and aspirations of the world for Peace, where the flags of all the nations fly in token of World Unity, a strange banner has made its appearance in the aisle. The pallid flag of appeasement has been brought forth. And those who carry it seem a bit ashamed and ill at ease.

Historical photographs show Hitler and Goering smiling broadly at their meeting with Chamberlain, for they saw abject weakness in appeasement and accepted it as a signal for the start of the Second World War.

The Arab delegation is smiling broadly as reported in the press. For have they not caused a great nation to back down on its promise, have they not replaced the considered judgment of the Council of the UN with the drawn sword of Islam?

The peoples of this nation look to their Government to safeguard the integrity of the United Nations and thereby assure Peace.

NORMAN STERNBERG
Newark, N. J.

Approval From Pakistan

The UN is the only hope of the world, and we believe it will survive. It is a commendable effort on your part to bring out a paper exclusively meant for the promotion of the cause of world peace . . . A rational approach to international brotherhood is the need of the hour . . .

The youth of Pakistan will contribute every effort to the maintenance of world peace.

M. A. HAFEEZ SUFI
Ahmadia Building
Brandreth Road
Lahore, W. Pakistan

Disapproval From Connecticut

I can't imagine ways to antagonize nationals much more rapidly than articles such as Scott Gilbert's "Four Tales of Japan," or McKitterick's "The System." (March UNW)

Most people are sensitive about their national peculiarities, and to being made a subject of amusing criticism. It seems to me just too bad!

EDITH K. MARVIN
Colchester, Connecticut

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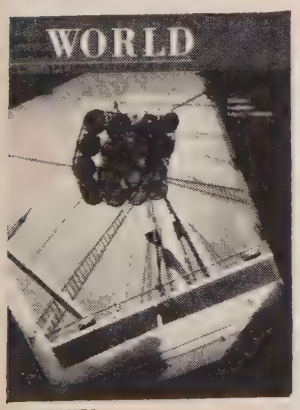

THE COVER
Shot skyward, through the hatch, this Galloway photo symbolizes world trade.

UN WORLD THE INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE

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An Intelligence Report to President Truman From Rear Admiral Ellis M. Zacharias -- Wartime Deputy Chief of Naval Intelligence

What Stalin Thinks

Soon it will be three years since Truman and Stalin met in Potsdam. That was in July, 1945, during the closing days of World War II and on the eve of the atomic age. On the concluding day of that conference, Mr. Truman spoke of the value of such meetings and expressed the hope that the next conference would be held in Washington.

"God willing," Stalin said simply — but they have never met again.

A GREAT many people both here and abroad express the growing conviction that nothing short of a personal meeting of the heads of the two states can break the impasse in relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. Such a meeting might possibly re-establish the kind of equilibrium Stalin described to my friend Roy Howard some years ago: "The Soviet system will not evolve into American democracy, or *vice versa*. We can peacefully exist side by side if we don't find fault with each other over every trifling matter." He expressed similar views in recent talks with Governor Stassen, Elliott Roosevelt, Eric Johnston and other Americans.

A meeting now could lead to a series of unrestrained recriminations on both sides, to charges and counter-charges, and break up on a sour note not particularly conducive to the future of Russo-American relations. It could also turn into a hard boiled, tough-minded, blunt but fair, realistic palaver with hard bargains driven on both sides. Bargains with Stalin are not impossible.

When Harry Hopkins returned from Moscow during the critical summer days of 1941, he reported to Roosevelt: "Stalin is Russia." He added: "One has to see Stalin if one wants to know what Russia is going to do, what she has to do it with, and how she proposes to go about it."

I have reason to believe that Hopkins' words are as valid today as they were seven years ago. They will remain valid as long as Stalin chooses to stay at the helm of the Soviet regime.

Stalin *is* Russia. He has no ghost writers, no brain trust in the western meaning of these institutions. Virtually no one, not even Molotov, has a real and lasting influence on his thinking.

Stalin himself likes to give a contrary impression. When Sir Stafford Cripps remarked that it might be difficult to wipe out memories of the Russo-German non-aggression pact, especially in the western democracies, the Generalissimo pointed to Mr. Molotov who was present and said: "Well, don't blame me. It was Molotov's idea!"

Actually, Stalin does his own thinking. While both Roosevelt and Churchill were aided by a numerous staff of political and military advisers in their conferences, Stalin was not.

To their first meeting at Teheran, Stalin brought an astonishingly small entourage of old Bolshevik cronies. At Yalta, he was surrounded by quite a coterie, but rarely turned to them for advice. Once he did surprise his friends by engaging a Red Army general in a short, earnest exchange. It soon turned out that Stalin had merely asked the general to fetch him a glass of tea.

The huge Soviet Cabinet's influence on Stalin is nil. The influence of the Politbureau may be considerable, but one-sided. Bayanov, one of his earlier private secretaries, described him at a meeting of the Politbureau in words which I am told are still accurate today:

"Stalin never takes part in a discussion until it is concluded. He is silent and listens attentively. Then, when all have spoken, he gets up and says a few words. And his view is always adopted."

What I am trying to convey with these episodic descriptions is Stalin's

The Man in the Kremlin

overwhelming paramountcy in the USSR. If we succeed in reconstructing his thought processes and in establishing a coherent structure of things which now occupy his mind. we may even solve what Winston Churchill called a "riddle inside an enigma."

I propose to do just that, and do it with the methods and techniques of the trained Intelligence Officer. In my analysis, I depend on all the *bona fide* intelligence sources available: biographies of both friend and foe, the subject's own writings, evidence gained from documents and interrogation of "returning travelers." I also have the results of discussions with several top-ranking diplomats with recent access to Stalin and the Kremlin.

If I am permitted to paraphrase an apt sentence from Sir Bernard Pares' new book, " I have never met Stalin, and I judge him far less by what he says than by what he does, but I am perfectly certain that I am expressing his thoughts."

Stalin frequently confides to intimates what he calls the leitmotif of his political philosophy: "Marxism is a doctrine which is born only once in 2,000 years. Why abandon or change it before it is given a real chance to prove its great worth?"

It is possible to summarize Stalin's current preoccupations on five important subjects: 1. the question of his own health; 2. the question of succession; 3. the question of Soviet security; 4. the question of world revolution or international co-operation; 5. the question of war and peace.

1. Stalin's Health

The Generalissimo is 68 years old, a man of great though somewhat subdued vitality and quiet vigor which has not been impaired by the fatigue of the war years. He suffers from a heart ailment which his doctors diagnose as serious but by no means certain to be fatal. Stalin is determined to live. He follows the strict rules of his physicians with as much discipline and obedience as he expects Communists to follow the Party line.

2. Stalin's Succession

Stalin is determined to leave behind a Soviet state that is strong and well consolidated; a Communist Party that is firmly entrenched in domestic power and world leadership; and a successor or successors who will be able to continue the Stalinist program of "evolutionary Socialism" without interruptions necessitated by fighting first for recognition and their own personal power.

Anxious to avoid the chaos, uncertainty and fratricidal strife that grew out of Lenin's ambiguous testament, Stalin is working on a book that he regards as his own political testament. It is a detailed guide for his successors on all matters of Party and State, domestic and foreign policies.

3. Soviet Security

Superimposed on thoughts of a personal nature is Stalin's major preoccupation: the safety and security of the Soviet world from Berlin to Vladivostok. This record of the Yalta Conference shows that Stalin was even in 1945 deeply concerned about the USSR's post-war boundaries.

"For the Russian people," he said, "the question of Poland is not only a question of honor but also a question of security. Throughout history, Poland has been the corridor through which the enemy has passed into Russia . . . It is in Russia's interest that Poland should be strong and powerful, in a position to shut the door of this corridor by her own

force." Stalin frequently uses the phrase: "I owe it to the Russian people to secure their frontiers against all comers." His idea of a *cordon sanitaire* consisting of not one but two security belts — of which Czechoslovakia is one link — was developed in the late '30's, primarily as a defensive measure against the Nazis.

At that time he said: "History shows that when any state intends to make war against another state, even not adjacent, it begins by seeking frontiers across which it can reach the frontiers of the state it wants to attack. Usually an aggressive state finds such frontiers. She always finds countries willing to 'lend' her a frontier."

Stalin views the "Truman Doctrine" as confirmation of this political philosophy, although he concedes that his own "Stalin Doctrine" — extending the Soviet demarcation line to Central Germany in the west, and to the Kuriles and Korea's 38th Parallel in the east — predates it.

Stalin nevertheless favors international co-operation. This attitude is coupled in his mind with Soviet determination to stay in the United Nations.

Just now he appears to be disturbed by (1) the apparently complete collapse of the Big Three's intimate wartime alliance; (2) the so-called ABC resolution in Congress, aiming — as he sees it — at the Soviet Union's eventual elimination from the United Nations.

It cannot be said that Stalin didn't expect such a turn of events. "It is not so difficult to keep unity in time of war," he remarked at Yalta, "since there is a joint aim to defeat the common enemy, which is clear to everyone. The difficult task will come after the war when diverse interests tend to divide the Allies. It is our duty to see that our relations in peacetime are as strong as they have been in war."

And again: "I think that the task is to secure our unity in the future, and, for this purpose, we must agree upon such a covenant as would best serve that purpose."

Stalin fully recognized the United Nations Charter as such a covenant, especially its Article 27. But he foresaw difficulties. "My colleagues in Moscow," he warned, "cannot forget the case which occured in 1939 during the Russian-Finnish war, when Britain and France used the League of Nations against us and eventually expelled us and isolated us." Stalin thinks that the ABC resolution, for example, is designed to duplicate the '39 experience.

It is characteristic of Stalin to view his relations with the West in historical terms. What happened once, he likes to say, is bound to happen again — if you don't watch out. He prefers to watch out. Even as a young man, though he was one of the most daring, he was also one of the most painstakingly cautious revolutionaries.

Until the end of 1947, Stalin believed that common apprehension of a possible German come-back was a strong tie between Russia and her former allies. He was convinced that France would never accept a resurgent Germany. Only in the last six months has he come to realize that he was wrong, and that fear of Russia is now greater than of Germany.

4. Revolution or . . .

International co-operation to Stalin's mind means, really, only co-operation between the Big Three — the United States which he acknowledges as the leading power of the world today; the United Kingdom, the present shortcomings of which loom far greater in his mind than its past accomplishments; and the USSR, which he regards as justly occupying second place. He refuses to view France and China in this category, but accepts them among the Big Five as a concession to what he inwardly decries as "the hypocrisy of the capitalist democracies."

In every discussion Stalin has with westerners, he emphasizes his conviction that in an era of *Realpolitik*, might is inevitably right.

The fact is that Stalin, shrewd and suspicious by nature, is particularly suspicious of the western world. He fears the West at least as much as the West fears him. And he subconsciously compensates for the insecurity he feels by insisting that the West has outlived its usefulness — is doomed.

This is no mystic aberration of an otherwise practical mind. It is the psuedo-scientific conclusion of a diehard Marxist. If queried point blank, Stalin will go to any limit in denying that he aims to bring about or even accelerate the inevitable doom of the western world. To several of his interviewers he has described the idea that he might be plotting a world revolution as "comic, tragic, tragicomic."

When Eric Johnston asked him whether he wanted to change the world, Stalin answered with a mischievous smile: "Not much!" He gave the same or similar answers to others. He derived particular pleasure from teasing Lady Astor, his most starry-eyed inquisitor, on this score.

But when he discusses the question seriously, he voices opposition to artificial or violent changes. To Walter Duranty he said that "institutions and systems are not changed by words — they are changed by natural causes." He reiterated the thought in conversations with H. G. Wells, Lion Feuchtwanger, Harold Stassen, and many others. To Roy Howard, he said: "We Marxists believe that a revolution will also take place in other countries. But it will take place only when the revolutionaries in these countries think it possible or necessary. The export of revolution is nonsense. Every country will make its own revolution if it wants to, and if it does not want to there will be no revolution."

Stalin is disappointed, but he does not believe that the temporary failures of the Communists in the west represent mortal blows. "We ought to learn from the British the art of 'wait and see,'" he has said repeatedly in Politbureau meetings. He advises his colleagues to direct their efforts toward strengthening "what we have in our hands instead of running after the bird on the roof."

An inward coolness toward international Communist organizations is not new with Stalin. Of the seven Comintern Congresses, four were held during four years of Lenin's leadership, and only three in all 25 years of Stalin's regime.

In his attitude toward the United States, Stalin tries to be practical and realistic. "We never forget that America is a capitalist country," he said once under circumstances similar to those of today. "But we respect American efficiency in industry, technique,

literature, and life . . . Our worker-managers who have been in America notice at once, not without a certain pleasant surprise, that it is hard to distinguish in outer appearance the engineer from the worker. It is quite otherwise in Europe where in daily life and manners still survive remnants of feudalism, and its arrogant ways are carried into industry, science, and literature."

5. War and Peace

Stalin is apprehensive of the United States today because he suspects us of aggressive intentions. But he is firmly convinced that neither the Washington nor the London administration desire a war at this time.

According to him, however, there are three categories of people who are vitally interested in bringing on another world war. Those whom he regards as war-mongers include (1) top economic leaders, the so-called "capitalists," who are interested in continuous expansion of production and markets, no matter by what means; (2) military men, who, in Stalin's view, are not so much interested in war as in continuing tension, to keep their budgets high; (3) a whole group of discredited and disavowed political leaders whose only chance for a come-back lies in another war.

He firmly believes that "capitalism" is the chief culprit in bringing on wars: "Capitalism in its imperialist phase is a system which considers wars to be a legitimate instrument for settling international disputes, a legal method in fact if not in law."

At this point there may be a serious cleavage in Stalin's attitude toward war and peace. While he does not expect the complete collapse of capitalism in the present generation, he is convinced that one or two additional world wars could bring about its rapid decline and fall. Thus Stalin both favors and abhors wars. He favors it to accelerate the downfall of capitalism; he abhors it because it imperils "socialist consolidation."

Stalin tries to solve the dilemma in a manner that could bring a long stretch of peace for the world. He regards Communism as strong enough to develop in that part of the world which is under its unqualified control and, therefore, the avoidance of war is a desirable goal as long as it does not involve a sacrifice of Russia's own vital interests.

On the basis of the best and most reliable information I could gather on this score, I may describe Stalin's attitude toward war as follows:

1. Stalin will not launch direct aggression, if only because of apprehension that the Soviet system might not survive another war — a fear he voiced in conversations with W. Averell Harriman.

2. If attacked, however, the Generalissimo will mobilize the whole resources of the vast sub-continent, will drive the nation ruthlessly into battle, and will never capitulate. "If we will have nothing left," he once said to an informant, "no more men, no weapons, and no ammunition, our women will continue the battle, pouring hot water on the invaders."

It is no exageration to say that the question of war or peace virtually haunts Stalin's mind. He is convinced that it cannot be settled on the level of Ambassadors and Foreign Ministers. In a very real sense Stalin is his own Foreign Minister, his relationship with Molotov resembling that between Roosevelt and Hull. Consequently, the solution proposed in the note of May 7, from Foreign Minister Molotov to Ambassador Smith may not bring the peace, or even *rapprochement,* which both governments sincerely profess to desire.

Recommendations

Only a meeting between the President of the United States and the Generalissimo of the USSR can bring an overall clarification of controversial issues, a general easing of world tension, the peace and tranquillity the whole world needs.

1. It is imperative that both statesmen should go into such a conference with an agenda prepared and accepted in advance, and with adequate material to permit, not merely the discussion, but the solution of every issue on the agenda. Questions not placed on the agenda in advance should not be introduced.

2. The conference plan should review the whole complex of international co-operation and contain solutions with a view toward the strengthening of the United Nations.

3. The conference should draft a treaty on non-aggression for presentation to the Congress of the United States and the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, to cover a period of at least 5, but preferably 10 years, appointing the United Nations as the supreme arbiter of all disputes between the two countries.

4. The treaty should (a) provide explanations for those provisions of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements which in the past were subject to divergent interpretations by the US and the USSR, and (b) demarcate in explicit political and geographical terms the boundary lines of all US and USSR interests in territories now regarded as being within their respective orbits.

5. The treaty should include a special annex providing for the settlement in bilateral arrangements of such outstanding issues as the international control of atomic energy, the establishment of an international police force, regulation of armaments, etc., to facilitate the solution of these problems within the framework of the United Nations.

By making these recommendations, I do not propose that the United States should discontinue its efforts now aimed at the strengthening of the country for its role in world leadership. On the contrary, I firmly believe that a continued effort on the part of the US and the American people can have only salutary effects, since both Stalin and the USSR respect strength and determination far more than mere diplomatic shows of force.

But while continuing our efforts and maintaining our forces in a high state of preparedness, and developing our strength to match our national commitments, international obligations, and world prestige, we should make it crystal clear, both to the world at large, and to the USSR, that we have no aggressive designs or intensions whatsoever.

Such an assurance was indeed included in the note General Smith prepared for Mr. Molotov pursuant to their conversations of May 4. It should be given on the highest level, in the form of a reassurance, to convince Stalin and the Soviet Union that American strength is designed solely for the preservation of this nation's great liberal institutions and for the maintenance of peace and tranquillity in the whole world.

There are five major political ideologies represented within the United Nations, each trying to make its dogma understood by the rest of the world. These ideologies are: 1) Communism; 2) Capitalist Democracy; 3) Socialism; 4) Military Dictatorships; and, 5) Absolute Monarchy.

In this series, UNW's editors present objective analyses of each system, without partisanship.

First three articles of the series, "World Communism," "Capitalist Democracy" and "World Socialism," appeared in the December, January and April issues of this magazine.

World Fascism

BY THE EDITORS OF "UNITED NATIONS WORLD"

Is Fascism dead?

The answer to this question is given in three documents relating to Argentina and Germany published during the last four years.

1. In a confidential memorandum dated August 30, 1944, General Friedrich Wolf, Nazi military attache to Argentina, reported to his superiors: "It may be said that at present in Argentina they are making an attempt to build up the state internally on the nationalist viewpoints of the fascist trend, whereas at the same time in foreign policy . . . they are forced to protest constantly adherence to the democratic principle."

2. A State Department memorandum dated February 11, 1946, contained the following comment: "Today it is clear that 'the attempt' to build up a type of National Socialist state, to which General Wolf referred in his report to the German High Command, has been successful beyond anything which his Nazi masters could have expected after their unconditional surrender. . . . "

The person most severely castigated in the State Department document was Juan Domingo Peron. "There will be clearly grounds for doubt and mistrust," it said, "so long as power in Argentina remains in the hands of men like Colonel [now General] Peron."

3. This document is dated April 29, 1948. In it Gen. Lucius Clay, US commander in defeated Germany, reported that "many evidences of a resurgence of Nazi-minded groups in Germany were found in recent elections." Gen. Clay referred to the show of strength of a new National Democratic Party which observers on the spot describe as "little more than the National Socialist (Nazi) Party under a new name."

Although written only two years ago, the State Department document, Number Two, is antiquated. Today the State Department does not deny, but disregards the memo's significant conclusions. On the very date of General Clay's apprehensive statement, the US Navy announced the sale of 18 reconditioned warships to the Peron regime of Argentina.

A Definition of Fascism.

Despite the extent to which it has been ignored, the State Department's memo is important, if only because, at a time when Fascism was regarded as characterized primarily by one-man dictatorship, it established a different touchstone for the diagnosis of Fascism.

According to this memo, the criteria of modern Fascism are:

1. Police repression and terrorism.
2. Economic penetration, expropriation, control.
3. Totalitarian control of labor.
4. Perversion of the educational system.
5. Control of the press.
6. An expansive military program.

7. Partnership with existing Fascist interests in other countries.

There may be more, but it is a fact that all these criteria are woven into the Argentine tapestry. Some of them may also be found in the political systems of Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic, Paraguay, Spain, Portugal, Turkey, China, Saudi Arabia, the Yemen, and, to a somewhat lesser degree, in those of Greece, Syria, the Lebanon, Transjordan.

This is no negligible constellation. Together these countries cover an aggregate area of 6,302,413 square miles. They are inhabited by 555,723,024 people, about 25 per cent of the world's population. They control important waterways, vital manufacturing centers and raw material resources, crucial sea passages and coastlines, strategic deployment areas, essential cultural forces.

Although he coined the term, Mussolini by no means invented Fascism. Its roots go far back in organized human society. The leadership principle, the racial-superiority principle and basic aggressiveness — fundamental characteristics which the State Department memo glosses over — are as old as the clan. Twentieth Century Fascism has made its practitioners more effective than any savage society because of the modern techniques of repression.

It was a halting, undeveloped Facism that Aristotle called "oligarchy" and Machiavelli "tyranny." Caesar was "Fascist-like," as were Nabis, Phalaris, Dionysius, Caligula, Nero, Vitellius, and so many other "wicked Emperors."

Fascism was practiced in theocratic form by the League of the Assassins. It characterized the rule of Louis XIV, Bismarck, Alexander of Yugoslavia, Dollfuss of Austria, and of a long string of petty dictators in Latin America.

Fascism lurked in the ambitions of François de la Roque of France and Huey P. Long of the United States.

The leadership principle, identifying ruler and state, subordinated the individual, made necessary the use of terror and all-powerful secret police. The racial-superiority principle, employed with special effectiveness against the Jews, was carried to exaggerated extremes by the Japanese in the East. The native aggressions of Fascism — whether directed inward against a scapegoat element such as Jews or Negroes or outward against a bogey of Communism or the Colossus of the North — are still in active ferment.

What Fascism Is Not

As modern times increased the number of followers a single leader could control, Fascism came to be classified, not as a system *per se*, but merely as a relative force, a system opposed to Marxism or Communism.

This form of dictatorship finds its active partisans and silent supporters among members of the middle classes, farmers and peasants. Frequently it receives discreet backing from the upper classes which cherish it as a determined foe of socialism and communism. Fascism's recent successes must be credited, not to its inherent strength, but to its militant, ruthless and unscrupulous opposition to communism.

Even though its strength is derived from this practical value, it may be useful to examine the ideology of Fascism.

Nicolo Machiavelli, Gianbattista Vico (a Neapolitan philosopher of the 17th century) and the 20th century thinker Vilfredo Pareto may be listed as the most direct intellectual ancestors of Fascism. Mussolini was influenced by Pareto's lectures and his *The Mind and Society* which argued: "The governing class has a clearer view of its own interests because its vision is less obscured by sentiments . . . The governing class is in a position to mislead the subject class into serving its interests . . . Those interests are not necessarily opposite to the interests of the subject class, often in fact coincide with them, so that in the end the deception may prove beneficial to the subject class."

If there is a deeper philosophical meaning in Fascism the theories come from such philosophers as Kant (categorical imperative), Fichte (nationalism), Hegel (idealism), Bergson (the concept of the *élan vital* or creative evolution), and even William James whose pragmatic philosophy was eagerly perverted by the Fascists.

An American whose direct influence on Fascism is unmistakable was Lothrop Stoddard. This eugenist claimed that his science "had completely undermined the liberal principle of equality in government," and he scorned equality as "the creed of undermen . . . impiously asking to share life with superior beings on an equal basis."

His precursor was the Frenchman Count Arthur de Gobineau whose *Essay on the Inequality of Human Races* was published in 1853-54. The English-born intellectual Jew-baiter, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, followed de Gobineau and paved the way for Hitler's Aryan theories.

The caesarism and cynicism that characterizes Fascism was inherited from Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, Germans, and the Frenchman, Georges Sorel. The Fascists later patterned their myth of the total state as an irrational driving force on Sorel's theory of "the myth of the general strike." He fascinated both Mussolini and Hitler.

The last great philosopher of this group was Oswald Spengler. German Fascism eagerly adopted Spengler's program for a new caesarism based upon a fusion of Prussian ideology and state socialism, a concept he propounded in 1920. But it promptly excommunicated him in 1933 when, in his *Jahre der Entscheidung*, he exposed triumphant Nazism as an intellectual fraud and political mischief.

Prominent practitioners of Fascism like to indulge in the composition of abstruse "definitions." Such a definition of

UNW'S PREFERRED DEFINITION

Any precise diagnosis of fascism must take into account specific social environments, but there are a few characteristics common to them all. Probably the best guide to a quick diagnosis of fascism through ten of its fundamental symptoms was suggested in the October 1944 issue of FREE WORLD magazine:

1. A chauvinistic superiority complex.
2. A racial superiority complex.
3. Opposition to freely organized labor.
4. Hatred of democratic aims and processes.
5. Cruelty and sadism in suppression of minorities.
6. Anti-intellectualism, deification of technology.
7. Opposition to international co-operation.
8. Cynicism and a policy of mendacity.
9. Ultra-militarism and ultra-imperialism.
10. Adherence to mystical concepts and rejection of logical reasoning.

World Fascism *Continued*

Fascism was prepared for the *Enciclopedia Italiana*, by no less an expert than Benito Mussolini himself.

According to him, "Fascism is a religious conception of life, in which Man is seen in his inherent relation to a higher law, to the objective will that transcends the individual and raises him to the consciousness of a spiritual community . . . Fascism is totalitarian, and the Fascist state is unity and synthesis of all values, and gives to the whole life of the people its meaning, development, and forcefulness."

Strengths and Weaknesses

The Fascist hierarchial pyramid — even in its elaborate form — is not new. It was the organizational structure of the League of Assassins, a secret politico-religious sect, first heard of in Persia in 1090. With the omnipotent leader at its apex, it consisted of subleaders, praetorian guards, and the uninitiated masses.

Psychologically such a structure appeals to the unpolitical masses, because the leader accepts collective responsibility and thereby absolves the frightened masses of their moral obligations. This is usually the major psychological tie between the Fascist leader and his subjects. It is a bond that may be broken by shifting responsibility back to the masses, even prior to granting them concomitant authority.

Fascism has no clear-cut or logical doctrines, although it did produce a few pseudo-doctrines. One of them was the Italian concept of the Corporate State, based on a series of "corporations" which included employers and employees. The memory of this institution now fascinates Gen. Charles de Gaulle.

Another pseudo-doctrine of Fascism is the gradation-of-race theory, distinguishing between inferior and superior, mongrel and pure races. In Germany, it originated in the widespread anti-semitism shared to a morbid degree by Adolf Hitler. A quasi-scientific scaffolding was provided for it by the opportunist Hans Guenther, a quack anthropologist, and the mystic Alfred Rosenberg, who perceived in it a substitute for religion.

When Fascism moves beyond its natural borders, its *inherent weaknesses as an ideology* become exposed. The concept has not spread spontaneously, through popular revolutions. It spread, first, through diplomatic alliances, then, through military moves, and eventually, by conquest. Outside Germany and Italy, Fascist parties never scored more than 3 per cent of the vote in countries where free elections were guaranteed, opposition was tolerated, and democracy sustained in one form or another.

An internationalist Fascism neverthless survives and may yet return to wide power, not through a covenant of the peoples, but by a conspiracy of like-minded groups. The existence of such a conspiracy may be established in Spain or in Argentina where, in the words of a conservative observer, Edward Tomlinson:

"The Argentine ruler had subordinated a nation of 14,000,000 to his will. He had bullied and intimidated his neighbors and forged the beginnings of a mighty fighting force. He had gone far toward dividing a continent, and had been the cause of hemisphere-wide dissension. It is hardly exaggeration to say that he was casting around for his Austrias and Czechoslovakias, and had, he hoped, found them in Chile and Bolivia."

Beyond this hemispheric expansion, Argentina maintains close ideological alliance with Spain, while Spain serves as a link with numerous Latin American Falangists, the remnants of Petainism in France, Fascism in Italy, Nazism in Germany, with Salazarism in Portugal and clerical Fascism everywhere in the world.

Fascism and Anti-Semitism

Resurgent Fascism strives surreptitiously on yet another discredited International — on anti-Semitism. The inspiration to this stationary international movement now comes strangely enough from a non-conformist Swede whose ideas appear to be most avidly welcomed in the US.

Though it holds out certain attractions to a fair proportion of American citizens, Fascism in the US may not now, or ever, menace the basic institutions of the Republic.

Geoffrey Gorer, in his recent controversial study of the American people, explains the lack of response to the Fascist (and, for that matter, Communist) appeal to the US masses:

"The typical American attitudes toward authority [is that] . . . authority is inherently bad and dangerous . . . [it] must be as circumscribed and limited as legal ingenuity can devise; and the holders of these positions should be under constant scrutiny."

E. B. Ashton, in his *Fascist: His State, His Mind*, accurately points out that "no political or demagogic group in this country [US] has ever dared to base its campaign on a philosophy of individual sacrifice. . . . No politician has yet told the American voter to his face that the state should be his superior — except the Communists who are paying the price in unpopularity."

Of the so-called "Fascist movements" in the US none has a genuine ideological content or, for that matter, ideological ambition. To American politicians who flirt with Fascism, it is not an overwhelming inner force. It is, primarily, a device to win votes, a shortcut to power. That they have not won power may be due to general recognition of the efficacy of the Supreme Court. For in order to establish Fascism in the US, its proponents must either abolish the Court or pack it with their own stooges. Either "possibility" impresses even the crack brained as unlikely to be achieved.

And yet, the fear remains that Fascism might be smuggled into the US in some attractive guise. One is reminded of Huey Long's reputed comment: "If Fascism ever comes to the United States, it will be called anti-Fascism."

Such fears are promoted by recent actions: the Administration's indiscriminate flirtation with those circles abroad which, a short time ago, it branded as Fascist; certain curtailments of civil liberties; the continuation of a war atmosphere; moves toward regimentation which, some anticipate, Universal Military Training would entail.

One can say, paradoxically, that it is the cold war with the Communist nations which makes Fascism a threat to the United States. One cannot say, however, that — should the cold war become hot — America would surrender herself to World Fascism.

THE TORIES' BEAU BRUMMEL—
THE WESTERN WORLD'S SIR GALAHAD—
IS SUDDENLY A GRAYING,
TIRED AND LONELY-LOOKING MAN

What Has Become of Anthony Eden

Only yesterday Anthony Eden was the White Hope of Western diplomacy. In desperate 1941, when Winston Churchill became Britain's Prime Minister, one of his staunchest, most loyal aids was young (43), impeccably tailored, beautifully mannered Robert Anthony "Tony" Eden. Eden was Old School Tie yet progressive, suave yet intelligent, a rich vitamin pill for the anemic Empire. The hopes of England's millions rested in Churchill—but his right-hand man, Foreign Minister Eden, was ready, willing and popular.

Today, incredibly, "Tony" is almost a nonentity in world affairs. Since the war's end, Churchill has occupied himself by writing his memoirs, Eden has vegetated and sawed wood. Cut off in mid-career, he has limited himself to placid debates on foreign affairs and to the semihermit age of Binderton House, his estate near Chichester in Sussex. There, as the photographs on the following pages show, Britain's onetime Beau Brummel has become almost overnight an aging, lonely-looking man.

THIS WAS EDEN. Foreign Minister Anthony Eden is snapped in Whitehall Gardens in 1937. Note his "trademarks": Bond Street suit, satiny tie, gleaming shoes, umbrella, homburg.

A Sprig of Heather

A Giant Chrysanthemum

A Woodshed Full of Fuel

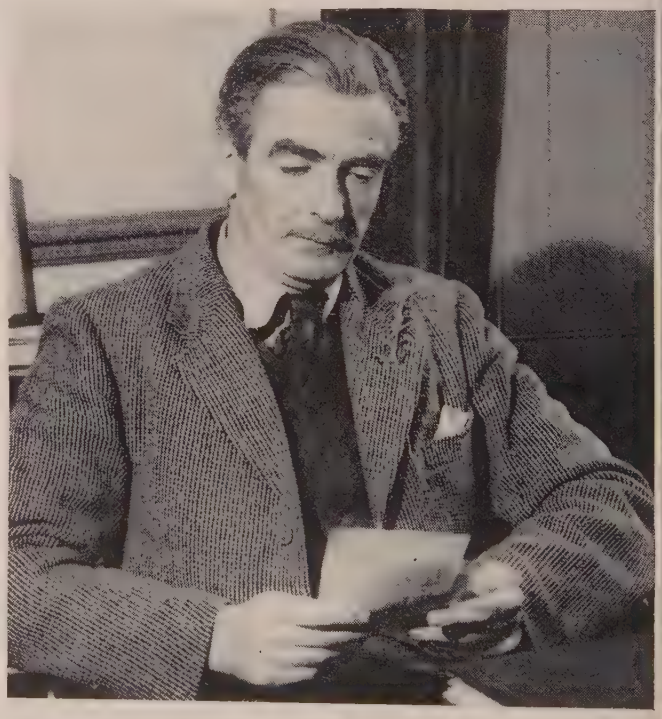
A sober but not a cautious man, Anthony Eden has gambled his whole future several times. The first great risk was the First World War, which he entered as one of an army of young British aristocrats and from which he emerged one of the fortunate living few.

The second gamble came on the eve of the Second War when Eden risked taking a tough stand with Hitler and Mussolini. The vacillating Neville Chamberlain replaced him as Foreign Minister with Lord Halifax.

The third came when in 1945, the war won, he and his Conservative Party colleagues conducted an anti-communist campaign in an effort to retain power. They lost the most decisive general election in British history.

A return of the "dapper Eden" is not likely for at least two more years. In the meantime, he will have passed — almost without the world having noticed — from youth to the threshhold of the dignified, aging years. The remarkable photos on these pages are among the few recording that transition.

THIS IS EDEN. In baggy tweeds, suede vest, wrinkled shirt and dirty shoes, ex-Foreign Minister Eden goes out with a saw to cut a little wood for the fireplace at Binderton.



EDEN READS. At the desk in his study — the same desk where he drafted many of his speeches when he held public office — — graying "civilian" Eden looks over a purely personal letter.

EDEN SHOWS OFF. In an unusual moment with his wife, who spends most of her time in Bermuda, he admires both the lady and the poodle (a gift of ECA Assistant Averell Harriman).

EDEN INSPECTS. An eager amateur gardener, the retired Cabinet member here examines a few of the multi-petaled chrysanthemums he enjoys cultivating in his own greenhouse.

EDEN RELAXES. In the drawing room at Binderton he enjoys a cigaret and a moment's play with a black Norwich terrier named Nipper. But this life of quiet, cultured ease is a lonely one for Eden. No matter how treasured the landscape over his fireplace, how luxurious the sofa, how artistic the vases, these cannot compensate for the seat of a British cabinet minister.

TAX EXPERTS OUTLINE A FEDERAL REVENUE REFORM

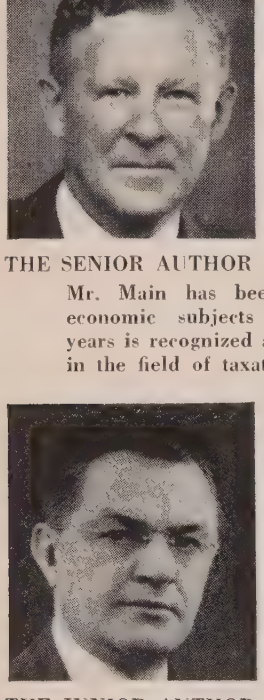
TO INCREASE PRIVATE AND GOVERNMENT INCOME

Incentive Taxation

BY FRANK WILBUR MAIN with M. C. CONICK

THE SENIOR AUTHOR

Mr. Main has been writing on economic subjects for over 30 years is recognized as an authority in the field of taxation.



THE JUNIOR AUTHOR

Mr. Conick, executive partner in Main and Co., and an income tax specialist, was formerly a college lecturer on accountancy.

"THE power to tax involves the power to destroy." This conviction, first voiced by U. S. Chief Justice John Marshall, is much in the mind of U. S. Citizen Jones these days. It is there whether Mr. Jones is a small family breadwinner or a big corporation president. In taxation he sees the most immediate relationship between Government and the people: whatever Government takes the people must provide — and from their everyday toil.

Every year, when the month of March heralds another spring, it also reminds millions of Americans that they must again give up precious hours to filling out their annual income-tax returns. In the days before March 15, one cannot turn on his radio without being subjected to the perennial jokes of comedians wisecracking about this particular labor — or to dry Government announcements urging the taxpayer to "do his duty."

As one who has been intimately concerned with taxation for many years, I know that the jokes elicit but wry smiles from the Joneses (Mr., Mrs. or Miss) who have heard them so often before. And the sober Government appeals are like red marks on a calendar, reminding one of an unpleasant appointment.

Both jokes and announcements are conspicuously devoid of that greater, more convincing appeal which every Citizen Jones needs and which we term "incentive." During my long professional preoccupation with taxation, I have felt keenly this absence of incentives from all matters connected with taxes. Is it not evident. I often ask myself, that some incentive is needed to make men produce income so that taxes may be assessed against them?

Of course there are several natural incentives which today drive Citizen Jones to produce income. One is the basic requirement of a livelihood. Another is the desire to save for the future. A third lies in the direction of investing a share of his savings so that investments may produce additional income.

All these incentives were taken into consideration as I approached the problem of taxation from an unorthodox angle, placing the emphasis on the incentive inherent in a play between taxes and income best suited for the tax system of a democracy. In the course of this preoccupation I devised what I call an Incentive Income Tax Plan.

My Plan is based on one overwhelming economic fact: for a consistently high and sound national income, we must get increased buying power into the hands of *every* Citizen Jones, and keep it there. But the Plan goes even further. It also provides an incentive to those with surplus funds at their disposal to make investments, both small and large, to broaden the economic foundation of the country.

We Must Banish Injustices . .

The Incentive Income Tax Plan was not born overnight. It is not merely an idea unsubstantiated by the realities of our economic life. It is the product of long and painstaking investigations, of a careful study of underlying mathematical factors and of strict considerations for the nation's and the world's urgent economic needs.

It is based on a dynamic relationship between the nation's income and the Government's tax needs. And my Plan promotes the former in the interest of the latter.

If properly applied, the Plan is fully capable of modifying the extremes of the accumulation and distribution of national income, which now fluctuate between the peaks of prosperity and the depths of depression. More than that, the Plan provides the very incentive which is bound to contribute to a prevention of such fluctuations.

Consider the glaring inequities of our present tax laws. The same kind of income now is taxed at different rates, depending on the operating

methods of the business that earns it. Dividends are subject to double taxation. The compensation of stockholding officers is exposed to a series of troublesome Governmental queries. There are vexing questions as to penalty tax on undistributed surplus. These and many other inequities cloud the over-all tax picture, create artificial "class structures," remind Citizen Jones that taxes often are used as deterrents to, rather than incentives for, investments. So long as such a situation exists, so long does the sorely needed and long overdue revitalization of the nation's economic life suffer from postponements and delays.

To Maintain Buying Power . . .

Now, since I claim that the Incentive Income Tax Plan offers a solution to the most pressing problems of our existing tax system, you may well ask, "All right — just what is it?" To this I reply:

The Incentive Income Tax Plan offers a new concept of taxes, a new philosophy of taxation and an entirely new method of levying taxes to make them work for the nation's broadest benefit. Its basis is the taxation of *income* — as opposed to our present taxing of individuals and corporations as such.

Specifically, the Plan provides for parallel rates for both individuals and corporations, with identical general exemptions, graduations and ceilings. All deductions will remain as at present, but exemptions will be sharply changed. A single person will be permitted $1,000 and a married couple $2,000, or nearly twice as much as at present; a corporation will be allowed $2,000. The allowance for dependents will be at $500 each. Dividend income will be exempt from taxation on the stockholder. All taxes on undistributed profits will be eliminated. But there will be no change in present laws regarding capital gains and losses or allowances for depreciation and depletion.

The Plan further provides for a graduated scale of taxation, identical for individuals and corporations. The first $2,500 of net taxable income, after exemptions and deductions, will be taxed at 15 per cent, the next $2,500 at 17½ per cent and so upward on a graduated scale to $50,000, where a proposed tax ceiling of 50 per cent is reached.

For the average Citizen Jones, the Incentive Income Tax Plan is of momentous significance. It will free some 18,000,000 Mr. Joneses entirely from income taxes (while leaving about 33,000,000). And it is in this fact that the Plan shows its truly incentive character. Those millions of former taxpayers will acquire vastly greater buying power; meanwhile, all other taxpayers also will gain buying power through increased exemptions and lower rates. Virtually every Citizen Jones thus will find himself with extra cash to spend on consumer goods or, which currently is even more important, to invest in enterprises where investments long have been stagnant. These include new and risk-taking enterprises, where investments require the greatest stimulus, and where my Plan may yield its most beneficial results.

Some may say that the Plan would promote rather than curb inflation. My answer is that there is just one way to *escape* ruinous inflation: through increased production at progressively lower prices. This means mass consumption — which in turn requires spendable money in the hands of the largest number of potential consumers.

Share Tax Loads Fairly . . .

The only way prices can be brought down, especially if we want to escape a psychology that leads to panic, is by providing manufacturers and wholesalers with a market that is wide and active enough to support mass production. In such a market the seller can afford to take a lower unit profit, because he sells more units. I believe that the Incentive Income Tax Plan works for this precise goal — for, under it, I propose that more of Citizen Jones' earned income be left in his own hands to spend or invest, rather than being placed in the all-too-greedy hands of the Government.

As I visualize it in operation, the Plan actually provides measures which will tend to correct runaway prices, particularly if prices are artifically stimulated. Moreover, the Plan will encourage savings and investments in enterprises designed to produce more goods. Increased production, as I have said, is the fundamental answer to inflated prices.

Incidentally, nothing in the Plan would promote a discrepancy between industrial and agricultural gains. I say this even though the Plan seems to favor individuals and unincorporated enterprises, the two groups which include most earners of agricultural income.

For, as I see it, the Plan's basic philosophy is one of fairness to all groups. Corporations seemingly are penalized by the proposal that the tax ceiling on their net income be set at 50 per cent, instead of the present 38 per cent; but the 50 per cent figure represents a drastic cut below recently prevailing levels of excess-profits taxes. And since I believe in taxing *income* equitably, regardless of how earned, I still feel that the 50 per cent ceiling should apply to corporations so long as it applies to individuals.

It is true that, under the Plan, part of the burden now carried by Citizen Jones, the individual, will be shifted to the shoulders of the corporations.

And Spur Investment

Yet the actual increase to the corporation will be definitely less than indicated. For its stockholders will benefit through the ending of double tax liability on dividends; in nearly all cases they will keep more of their dividend dollars than at present. The corporation's officers and employees will benefit; no matter how highly paid, none will give up more than 50 per cent of his income in taxes. The corporation's working position will benefit; more equity capital will be available, and bonded or other indebtedness can be reduced. Finally, the corporation will be selling its products to markets greatly expanded and strengthened by the increased purchasing power of millions of individual consumers.

There remains the crucial question: will taxes under the Incentive Income Tax Plan provide the tax needs of the Government? My answer is Yes — with one qualification. The qualification is that there must be a substantial and sustained national income.

Working backward from this premise, I came to the conclusion early in 1945 that our Federal budget will have to be at least $25 billion a year for many years to come. This seemingly gigantic sum is inevitable if we are to meet our obligations to our war veterans, take care of an enlarged Army, Navy and Air Force and provide regular, substantial amortization

Incentive Taxation *Continued*

of our war-swollen national debt.

At the same time there must be strict economy in Government expenditures all down the line, for my figure still represents a major reduction from the actual Federal budget. As a matter of fact, in 1947 I revised the Plan so that it would raise $33,500,000,000 a year.

What income must America have to raise the required $33,500,000,000? I grant that such a sum could not have been realized in 1932 (when our national income was only $42 billion), or even in 1940 (when it had risen to $81 billion). But the Incentive Income Tax Plan — operating, of course, in conjunction with estate, excise and other regular Federal taxes and levies — will yield the necessary amount if the national income reaches $175 billion. And today our income has not only reached that figure but passed it. It is, in fact, somewhat in excess of $200 billion a year.

On that account, recently I again have recalculated and revised the Plan. At a national income of $225 billion, it will yield at least $40 billion in revenues. Despite occasional fluctuations, the spiral of inflation is still at work. There is every reason to believe that the $225-billion level will be reached, perhaps passed, this year. Thus the Plan seems eminently suited to the current and immediately foreseeable needs of our Government.

In any case the Plan is flexible. Should an emergency arise where the Government needs additional tax revenue, higher rates readily can be imposed. Under the Plan both rates and exemptions can be revised downward or upward at any time. Once the Plan itself is adopted, its "streamlined" machinery can be adjusted to current needs with almost unbelievable ease.

It must be borne in mind, however, that I have designed the Incentive Income Tax Plan for a peacetime rather than a wartime economy. I visualize it, in fact, as in part alleviating the economic ills that follow war as they manifest themselves in taxation. It is not simply the practical application of the Plan, but rather its concept and philosophy, which I feel should attract attention and provoke consideration.

As I have emphasized, this concept is one of taxing income — and taxing it uniformly — while eliminating the inequities and other disturbing factors in taxation which now only create confusion and contribute to the unsettlement of the whole structure of our national economy.

Promoting Enterprise

Basically, the Plan has been designed for Citizen Jones of the USA. Its accent is on promotion of free enterprise. But I see no unanswerable reason why it could not also be adopted by countries with semiplanned economies, such as France and Great Britain. In any such nation the Plan would have a leavening effect on the entire economy; it would increase spending power, free substantial funds for investment and stimulate production. Meanwhile, as in America, it would be a primary step toward controlling inflation. If adopted by enough countries, the Plan would have two other important results: it would encourage investment of private American funds throughout the world, and it would contribute to the success of the Marshall Plan.

Taxes should be extracted in such a manner as to do as little harm as possible to the economic body of the nation. At the same time they should be so patterned as to provide incentives to buying, saving and investment. But today, throughout the world, taxes are being hacked out with very dull cleavers, reminding us all of the untimely death of one Citizen Jones who had this epitaph carved on his tombstone:

"I fought a good fight, but my razor was too dull."

As individuals we often fail, not because we do not work hard enough, but because our skills are as dull as Mr. Jones's razor. In the field of Federal taxation a similarly dull razor is used by the government, without regard to how badly all the tax-paying Joneses are slashed and cut.

As in any other sphere of human activity, new ideas in taxation face a rough road. Think back a few years to the arguments against the payroll withholding tax, which today is recognized as a crucial step in improving our basic tax structure. There will be, no doubt, similar opposition to the Incentive Income Tax Plan. Yet it offers a studiously prepared, definitely workable and long overdue remedy for a chaotic, costly and basically unrealistic situation. It gives Citizen Jones, whatever his income, a measure of relief and a new kind of incentive to which he is more than entitled. I am confident that, once enough Mr. Joneses fully understand the Plan, they will adopt it.

In This Issue UNW's NEW WORLD BUSINESS DEPARTMENT —

William L. Clayton
Chief US Delegate to ITO Writes on World Trade

Herbert Harris
UNW's World Business Editor — on World Wheat

Pearce and Villanon
Team of Business Economists — on US Labor

BEGINNING ON PAGE 51

"...Not by Might,

Nor by Power,

But by My Spirit..."

The world is aghast at the dread prospect of the United States and Russia competing for military supremacy.

This need not be; this must not be. War, or militarism to forestall war, means ultimate ruin for all. The American Friends Service Committee believes peaceful relations are possible between the United States and Russia. We do not minimize the issues that now exist between the two countries, but neither do we believe that war would settle these issues. It would only intensify them. We call for a faith that other means can be found which could lift us to a new level of life in which war is outmoded.

The world is ready to be quickened by a new spirit. It begs to be assured by reconciling deeds rather than words that under God there is one humanity. The hearts of men can still be kindled by a new vision of man's common and unfinished task – the building, under law, of a true parliament of nations.

The peoples of the world *want* peace. Freedom from fear and from violence, freedom from threat and from counterthreat, freedom to test the validity of ideas in daily life rather than on the battlefield, are what all nations want. Quaker workers in Europe and Asia tell us with one voice that people everywhere want to draw on America's faith in the future—not on our arsenal of weapons. This yearning of all people for a new approach to international affairs is the solid rock upon which the peace of the world can yet be built. If America has tried and failed to gain peace, now is the time to try again. Let us be infused with new faith. From the ashes of our frustration and despair, let us rise with new determination to solve our differences with Russia in peaceful ways and in terms that will build a truly united world.

Here are three steps which we believe are a beginning in this new direction:

I. BEGIN PEACE TALKS NOW. Let a group of leading American citizens meet this spring to formulate proposals for a general settlement of outstanding issues between the United States and the Soviet Union. Let these proposals be widely debated and then laid before the American and Russian heads of government, urging that they meet again in new faith and with a fresh spirit.

II. STRENGTHEN THE UNITED NATIONS. Let the United States demonstrate now, in action, its loyalty to the United Nations and its determination to strengthen it as an instrument of world law and order. We believe Russia would respond to such a move. Let the United States join at once the World Health Organization and put adequate financial resources behind the International Refugee Organization. With a new burst of faith let us begin to put substantial funds into the instruments of peace instead of into vast military expenditures in preparation for war.

III. PROMOTE PERSONAL CONTACTS. Let American private organizations with experience in international affairs unite in undertaking a large-scale program to promote intercultural understanding between the United States and Russia. Let us make a new effort to arrange the exchange of students, writers, religious leaders, and industrial workers. Americans and Russians need to see themselves as they are seen by each other.

The American Friends Service Committee believes that there is widespread support and the Divine Assistance to sustain those who will embark on such a course.

"...Not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit..." can men escape the dreadful consequences of unceasing strife.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

DEAR FRIENDS:

- ☐ I share your conviction that issues between the United States and Russia *can* be solved by peaceful means.
- ☐ I disapprove of your statement.
- ☐ I desire further information elaborating the points in your statement.

NAME_____

STREET_____

CITY_____

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE (QUAKERS)

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

PUBLICATION OF THIS STATEMENT MADE POSSIBLE BY SPECIAL FUNDS

BY JOHN LEWIS CARVER
(The nom de plume of explorer noted throughout Asia Minor)

Slavery's Last Stronghold

Handmaidens and field hands are still sold in Arabia — Not economics but sexual-psychological factors keep the ancient trade alive

On May 5, the United Nations issued its first report on efforts to suppress traffic in women, children and obscene publications. Among the countries which submitted information for the report are US, UK, France, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, Denmark, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Sweden, Turkey, the Philippines, Costa Rica, Venezuela, the Dominican Republic, and 19 British colonies and possessions from Aden to Zanzibar.

The USSR made no report because "the problem of traffic in women, children, and obscene publications had not arisen in its territory." Similar statements were filed by Afghanistan, Byelorussia, Honduras, Iceland and Norway.

Conspicuous by their failure to file reports were two countries where not only white slavery, but even slavery are common. There are circumstances which explain the prevalence of slavery and white slavery in Saudi Arabia and the Yemen. Even so, a report on conditions in these two Arabian lands seems to be both proper and necessary, if only to compensate for a serious omission in the UN's first report.

* * *

In the area washed by the Red Sea, slave trading is an honorable business. It has long been so. In the

A SLAVE in Arabia, this "handmaiden" was born in Harrar, a province in the south of Abyssinia. The scars on her forehead are a tribal identification, that on her nose may be accidental. Her youthful beauty and beaten silver jewelry indicate that she is a favorite of Arab men.

Sudan, in the Somalilands and particularly in Abyssinia, slavery was for many centuries the main source of income. Slave traders waxed rich on human wares and the people of Suakin, once the chief trading post of the Sudan, used to boast: "We do not need to harvest, our crops are the slaves."

To be a slave was an occupation, like that of a joiner or a shoemaker. Slaves were of higher rank than ordinary servants, generations having been nursed in the masters' households. It was not uncommon for a slaveowner to marry the daughter of one of his slaves — his in-laws remaining in bondage.

Shortly after they occupied Aden in the Indian Ocean, more than a century ago, the British started a crusade against this trading in human goods. Despite their efforts, slavery continued on a considerable scale until the early 1920s when two important African events accelerated Britain's success. First, the Sudan was taken over by the Foreign Office and the graft-ridden Egyptian administration replaced by English officials who prohibited the trade.

Second, Haile Selassie, having gained absolute control over the rebellious oligarchs of Ethiopia, applied for admission to the League of Nations. England objected that Ethiopia was the biggest obstacle in cleaning the Red Sea of slaves. The League proposed that Ethiopia abolish slavery. Haile Selassie agreed, and kept his pledge. There is no slavery in Ethiopia — though slave traders frequently trespass on its territory.

One Man's Sin . . .

Britain has not been so finicky about the admission of other countries to the United Nations. When the applications of Saudi Arabia and the Yemen were considered, nobody raised the indiscreet question, and nobody seems to have cared, that they are the two remaining slave trading countries in the world. Their very culture, their family mores are rooted in a practice which violates the Charter of the United Nations.

What is left of the Red Sea trade (and, despite repression, it is still considerable), caters exclusively to the Saudian and Yemeni markets. The business is a risky one. Only four or five times a year are slaves still shipped *en masse* across the Sea. Each year shipments must run a tightening blockade. Britain operates two gun boats which keep a sharp lookout for dhows laden with human freight.

I know one slave trader, a Prussian ex-officer named Krummholtz, who maintains a well-armed company of free-booters. From time to time his men attack villages, kidnaping children between 3 and 8. The human booty is taken to a relatively distant headquarters where they are maintained and schooled — the girls until they reach the age of 10 to 12, the boys 10 to 16. The boys are groomed to produce strong, willing workers; the girls are taught to sing, to beautify their bodies, to please men.

After the years of "schooling," the trader makes up a convoy and marches it by an unfrequented route to a rendezvous near the African coast of the Red Sea where Arab buyers inspect the goods, agree on a price and arrange delivery at some unfrequented bay where the buyer's dhows would be waiting. I once observed at one such spot the delivery of 300 lightly chained boys and girls who were loaded onto 11 dhows, made to lie down and then covered with bags of Ethiopian coffee.

The slave runners take no chances. As soon as the *nachoda* of a slave dhow spies a white patrol boat, he orders his crew to dump the human cargo into the sea. The chains do the rest. Such losses may be heavy, but they are always compensated by the profits made on those slaves who do reach Arabian shores. During the boom years, between 1920-25, slave girls brought as much as $900. Boys were cheap, a healthy lad of 12 hardly ever fetching more than $250.

Once across the narrow Sea, the traders' cargo will turn up at the gate called Bab Dhireiba, in Mecca, the center of slave trading in Arabia, or in the busy markets of Saana, Hodeida, Jidda, Taiz or Medina. Camouflage and concealment is no longer needed. Here slavery is openly sustained in the face of censure by the civilized world. Neither Saudi Arabia nor Yemen has signed the two world conventions — that of 1921 forbidding traffic in women and children and that of 1933 forbidding traffic in adult women.

It will be extremely difficult for any agency to control this traffic — particularly in girls. For traffic in women trained to make love is, in sober sociological and psychological fact, an essential element in the bitter battle of the sexes, which is peculiar to southern Arabia and a direct outgrowth of Mohammedanism. No wives are more abused and embittered and more obviously frigid than the Arabs. Female frigidity is a vital element in the Arab culture pattern. The Arab males whose sexual appetite is keen, whetted by the glowing promises of the Koran, are without doubt the world's unhappiest husbands.

The problem was presented to me rather forcefully by the plaintive tale of an Oriental friend. Overwhelmed by his personal tragedy, and blighted by disappointment, he decided to share his woe with me in the manner in which a more sophisticated New Yorker would carry his plight to a fashionable psychoanalyst.

A Typical Case

My friend was a handsome but marred young man on the morning after the gruelling ritual of his Arabian wedding. He married a girl he had never seen before, picked for him by his mother and an aunt. The unknown bride's mysterious beauty merely increased the suspense of his expectations and it was with passion mixed with compassion that he had entered his modest harem at the close of his four-day wedding.

At first he thought the room was empty, the young bride gone — but then, in one of the corners he discovered what appeared to be merely a bundle of women's dresses. It was his wife, squatting in terror. Her large dark eyes reflected horror and fear as she tried desperately to remove herself from his reach.

My friend tried to coax her with kind and endearing words, but there was no response. At last he approached her with outstretched arms — only to provoke his young bride to an act of violence. Like a panther, she jumped at him with fingers curved for attack, sinking violent nails into his face.

The husband, blinded by passion and pain, accepted what he took to be a challenge and fought back against his reluctant bride. She defended herself with every weapon in her arsenal, with nails and teeth, with arms and legs, biting, scratching, kicking, until the husband, bleeding

and beaten, ran away from this turbulent wedding night.

This was no isolated incident. If it were, it would not warrant description. It is the story of most wedding nights in Arabia, varying only in the degree of violence and/or fear with which a bride greets her husband. "Do you blame me, then," another Arab friend asked me with an expression of innocence and despair, "if I seek consolation elsewhere?"

Here then is the explanation for the prevalence of prostitution and for the survival of slavery in this part of the world. The world's oldest profession was invented in this region and today every Arab town, even the smallest hamlet, has at least one street where the *mumisa* live. Arab girls are rare among them. Most of them are slaves or "emancipated" slaves smuggled in from the Somalilands, the Sudan or Ethiopia. The Somali girls are the favorites with the lower classes. Nobility prefers Ethiopian beauties. Most popular are Arab girls.

Not only the frigidity of their wives but the traditions of their world drive Arab men into the arms of women who at least profess pleasure in sex. Mohammed brought a revolutionary change in the status of women in the Arab world. The women of pre-Mohammed days were freer, enjoyed a higher status. Though the writer Masudi mentions white slavery in pre-Islamic times, prostitution then was on a limited scale.

Mohammed devoted a long chapter in the Koran to the vexing problems of women, regulating marital relations and the sex life of the True Believer. There are additional more or less veiled passages dealing with other aspects of sex.

The imagination of Arab young men is whipped mercilessly by the ambiguous passages in Chapters 2, 4, 24 and 66 of the Korean, which, in turn, inspired such popular writers as Nefzawi and Omer Halebi to provide commentaries in which hardly anything is left to the imagination.

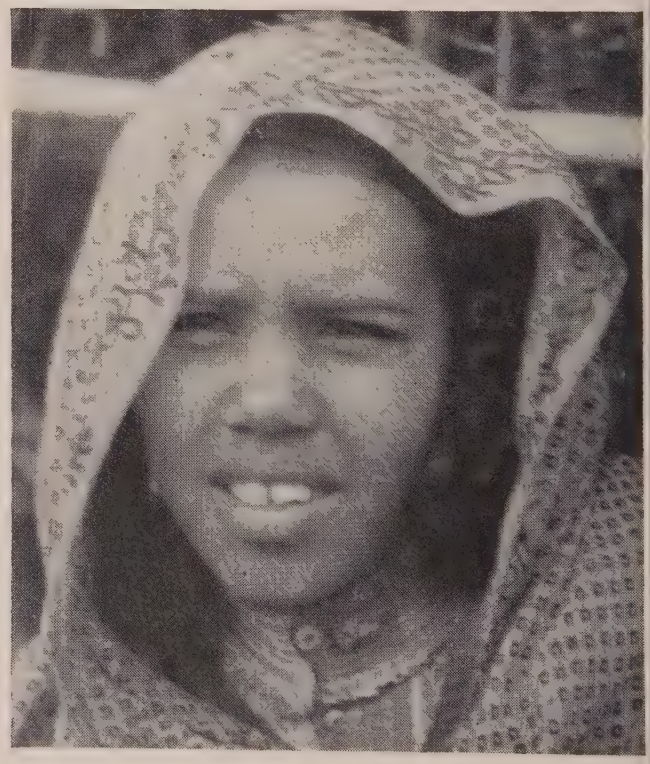
Arab women take a grim revenge in the harem for the slights imposed by sex. The harem is devoid, not only of reputed pleasures, but even of human warmth generated by happy and balanced family life.

The men, supported by custom and the Koran, ordinarily make no effort to control desires they have been taught are uncontrollable. The women fight back with frigid unacceptance and especially with the *zar*. The latter is a form of hysterical fit, in which they laugh and cry and shout, so loud and so persistently that the neighbors hear. As soon as the *zar* cries reach adjoining harems, strange women pour into the house. Then the *zar* may develop into a *fantasia*, a weird, extemporaneous asexual orgy in which women celebrate their victory over the men. An evening that began with the husband imposing his male will on his wife ends in mass ridicule of him and his unhappy sex.

There are today more than 1.5 million slaves in Saudi Arabia and the Yemen, about 15 percent of the total

Though none is white, all four of these girls are . .

GREEK-ABYSSINIAN. Her master fares well for this young woman commanded the highest fee of any prostitute Dr. Carver investigated while studying the white slave trade of the Red Sea.



GALLA. Relatively unprepossessing, the Negro girl from the region of Harrar is nonetheless of the type which poorer Arab men favor. No more than 12, she is an experienced prostitute.

population of the whole Peninsula. Most of them are women, combining the functions of maids and concubines in any Arab home that can afford a slave. Still there is a shortage, although prices no longer reflect the inflation of the early 20's. A swift pale camel brings only $15 to $20, but an Ethiopian or Somali beauty sells for as much as $100 — even at the age of 8. Prices as high as $500 are still paid for an enchanting girl.

Anywhere in Arabia one may see slaves, performing household chores if they live with a family, or waiting idly for visitors if they live by themselves in houses of prostitution.

Untouched by the frigidity which plagues her mistress, the slave girl pays for the caresses of the "husband" by enduring the jealousies of his legal wife or wives. On the whole, however, these slaves enjoy an astonishing latitude of freedom and respect. They themselves are protected by the humane traditions of Arabia. The children they bear their masters are free.

A greater measure of freedom is enjoyed by those in the bondage of prostitution. But, actually, in the words of a recent international congess on the problem, the "marriage morals [in Arabia] are not widely removed from prostitution."

Statistics are rare and unreliable. But it is obvious that the divorce rate is exceptionally high throughout Arabia — somewhat similar to that among Moslem Sudanese where statistical analysis was possible. Of 6,500 marriages contracted in one year more than 5,000 ended in divorce. Only 5 percent of the women marry but once. Most women marry six or more — even 18 — times.

The marriage-divorce record of Near Eastern prostitutes is vastly better. Prostitutes usually do marry and find happiness in marriage. Among 1,000 ex-prostitutes surveyed, none was found who had married more than six times — a record of unusual stability in the Orient.

The inability of Arab males to be satisfied with vengeful wives creates prostitution not only in sovereign Arabia. Even the prudish British tolerate it in Aden, controlling it only medically. Conditions in lands under European supervision were best described in an official report to the League of Nations, dated February 28, 1937:

"The prostitution of native women is rife, especially in the towns, but those concerned come of their own free will and no compulsion is exercised. Although they pay certain very small commissions to intermediaries, there is no real exploitation. The laws regulating this matter are very strict in these centers, and there is reason to hope that the recent social measures to better the material and moral lot of the native will have the effect of rapidly diminishing the number of prostitutes."

Today, 11 years later, the expected improvement is still a hope rather than a reality. In this case, international authority wages an uphill fight against demands of the flesh which bear the sanction of a slave-based culture rooted in a slave-borne past.

egal 'white slaves' of Arabs

ARAB. Only rarely does an Arab girl appear in a convoy of slaves from Africa. This one is a victim of the Middle East's endemic eye affliction — trachoma. Her choker is of silver.

ABYSSINIAN. Dr. Carver reports that Ethiopian prostitutes frequently resented the camera and questions. This sullen, pompadoured beauty is the type preferred by the richer Arabs.

Battle Order of the World

STANDING ARMIES ARE TOO BIG FOR PEACE — BUT TOO SMALL FOR WAR
NONE IS SET FOR OFFENSE — MOST ARE INADEQUATE FOR DEFENSE
WORLD DEMOBILIZATION CONTINUES IN SPITE OF HEADLINE HYSTERIA

The armies of the world are not strong enough nor adequately equipped to start or carry on the major war which pessimists say is just around the corner. No other conclusion can be sustained by a study of this Battle Order.

On the pages which follow, UNITED NATIONS WORLD calls the roll of the nations' armies. This was once a function of the League of Nations. It is a continuing peacetime task of all General Staffs — to take stock of foreign armies. The result is called "Battle Order," a comprehensive tabulation of the strength, organization and distribution of forces.

UNITED NATIONS WORLD Battle Order is meant to inform the nations and peoples. It is prepared in an era over which still hangs the heavy pall of military secrecy. Even so, enough data have been compiled to allow certain important conclusions.

1. This BO reveals again the basic conservativism of armies. The immense changes which the appearance of the A-Bomb suggested, the lifting of wars from predominantly tactical to an overwhelmingly strategic sphere, is not yet reflected in the organization of the world's armies (see State of the World, page 1).

2. The world wars of this generation proved wrong the Italian General (Douhet) who predicted decisive predominance for airpower, and the German and French experts (von Seeckt and de Gaulle) who saw in the small, highly mechanized robot army of combat professionals, the decisive force in modern war. The Battle Order reveals that both dreams are still far from materialization. Ground forces remain the core of all armies, and armies continue in the center of all military establishments.

3. This roll call of the armies of the world reveals that more than three years after VE-Day, there are still 15,362,899 men under arms in 57 countries. And yet, this is a promising figure. With the exception of Yugoslavia which maintains an oversized army in a high state of preparedness, no country, and certainly none of the major powers, maintains even a fraction of its war manpower potential.

In the midst of all the war talk, both the United Kingdom and the USSR pursue a policy of progressive demobilization. The United States maintains an army insufficient for its peacetime needs. France struggles to organize a new army from scratch while scraping the bottom of her barrel to finance the luxury.

Only in China and Greece are armies (two in each case) maintained on war footing.

4. The regular armies of today are definitely incapable either of aggressive moves on the Wellingtonian scale, or even of sustained defense against a major onslaught.

The disappearance of Germany, Italy and Japan, aggressors *par excellence,* helped the world to a military equilibrium, somewhat similar to the years following the Franco-Prussian War and the Berlin Conference. This equilibrium may not be easily perceptible through the smoke of the ideological war. It may no even survive propaganda battles an diplomatic clashes. But the fact re mains that the size and preparednes of standing armies fails to reflect th tension of international conferenc halls or the grim temper of headline

5. A comparative study reveals tha most of the countries maintain armie which are inferior in numerica strength even to those which the maintained prior to World War II This development has come abou while the nations have been refusin to discuss Article 47 of the UN Char ter with a view toward "the regula tion of armaments."

6. An excessive share of income i still being spent on standing armies especially in countries which main tain them for decorum rather tha defense. Portugal, for example, spend more than 50 per cent of its nationa budget on its military establishment less than 10 per cent on education

7. Despite their obsolescence, th fact that the armies exist argues th possibility of future war. While i may be correct that all history is th decline of war, it is a slow decline In the meantime man prepares fo battle in the vain belief that his swor can cut "many a Gordian knot i twain which all the wit of East an West . . . could not untie."

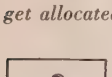
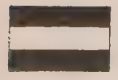
War's continuing decline cannot b denied in the face of the data whic follows. Clear recognition of tha process can do much to inoculate th world against the pyrogenic propa ganda that predicts the coming of war

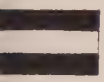
The Armies of the Big Three

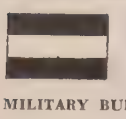
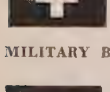
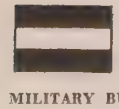
GENERAL DATA	STANDING ARMIES
UNITED STATES POPULATION: 142,656,000 AREA: 3,623,995 *sq. mi.* MILITARY BUDGET: *Approx. 25% of the national budget, including expenses of organized reserve and National Guard. In 1930, the US Army cost $3.50 per capita, and $1,100 per soldier. Today, it is $57 per capita, and $16,000 per soldier.*	The authorized strength of the Army of the United States within the National Military Establishment is 670,000. But on March 1, 1948, the actual strength of the US Army was only 542,000. Approximately 75% of the men on active duty are abroad, chiefly on occupation assignments in Germany, Austria, Japan and Korea. The total wartime potential of the US Army is 8,500,000. The peacetime established organization of the army consists of 13 divisions; about 80 divisions can be mobilized within 3 to 12 months. Much of the army's expenditures are for development of new weapons, including guided missiles, atomic bombs. Army is .38% of population; 1 soldier to 6.68 sq. mi.
USSR POPULATION: 193,000,000 AREA: 8,308,634 *sq. mi.* MILITARY BUDGET: *17% of the national budget spent on the Ministry of the Armed Forces, more than half of which is devoted to maintenance and development of the Red Army. It is estimated that citizens of the USSR pay 218 rubles per capita for this purpose, or, on the basis of the official rate of exchange, $43 per capita, $4,368 per soldier.*	A reliable estimate puts the Red Army's peacetime effective strength at 1,900,000, excluding the para- and semi-military formations, the militarized police, and the troops of the Ministry of the Interior. The total wartime potential of the USSR is about 20 million men and women. Approximately 60% of today's effectives are abroad, chiefly in Germany, Austria and Korea. The Red Army is organized in 6 armies consisting of approximately 160 skeleton divisions (a maximum of 10,180 per division). Army is .98% of population: 1 soldier to 4.37 sq. mi.
UNITED KINGDOM POPULATION: 48,418,000 AREA: 94,300 *sq. mi.* MILITARY BUDGET: *The current budget appropriates £305,000,000, or approximately 13% of total expenditures, for the Army.*	UK is continuing the demobilization begun in 1945. On April 1, 1946, the British Army had 2,950,000 effectives. By April 1, 1947, 1,210,000; April 1, 1948, 534,000. It is planned to reduce the Army to 345,000 officers and other ranks by March 31, 1949. The overwhelming majority of British troops is in overseas assignments: in Germany, Austria, Trieste, Japan, Greece, India, Pakistan, Iraq, Egypt, Italian Africa, Palestine, Transjordan, etc. They are being steadily withdrawn from Egypt, Greece, India, Iraq and Palestine. Some of these are being moved to two newly created Middle East and Africa Commands, in Transjordan and Kenya. Normal peacetime strength of the British Army consists of 250,000 effectives in the Regular Army and Militia; and about 425,000 effectives in the Territorial Force. Britain's optimum wartime manpower potential is estimated at about 3 million officers and other ranks.

The Armies of the Rest of the World

GENERAL DATA	STANDING ARMIES
AFGHANISTAN POPULATION: 10,000,000 AREA: 250,000 *sq. mi.* MILITARY BUDGET: *data not available.*	90,000 officers and men, organized in 2 army corps of 2 divisions each; 7 depot divisions; 2 mixed brigades. About 10,000 armed but untrained clansmen. In early stages of mechanization. UMT, 2 years' active service, ages 18 to 40. Army is 1% of population; 1 soldier to 2.8 sq. mi. of territory. Maximum wartime manpower potential estimated at 250,000.
ALBANIA POPULATION: 1,003,124 AREA: 10,629 *sq. mi.* MILITARY BUDGET: *data not available.*	Standing army of approximately 60,000 men, in the process of organization and training. Between May 1939 and September 1943, Albanian forces formed integral part of Italian Army. Army is 6% of population; 1 soldier to .16 sq. mi.
ARGENTINA POPULATION: 16,108,573 AREA: 1,079,965 *sq. mi.* MILITARY BUDGET: 38% *of national budget.*	National militia 100,000 officers and men on 1-year active service, then 9 years in active reserve: 215,000 in National Guard; 75,000 in Territorial Force (only called up in war). UMT, 1 year's active training, ages 20 to 45. Republic divided into 6 military districts, garrisoned by 6 divisions, 3 cavalry brigades, 2 mountain detachments (all at half-strength peacetime nuclei). Army is 0.6% of population; 1 soldier to 10 sq. mi.
AUSTRALIA POPULATION: 7,580,820 AREA: 2,974,581 *sq. mi.* MILITARY BUDGET: 30%.	Permanent Force of 35,000 officers and men (standing nucleus of wartime army of a potential 800,000); militia force of 75,000. UMT re-introduced in 1940 as wartime emergency measure, for all males between ages of 18 and 26. Commonwealth divided in 6 military districts with 5 commands, (in Brisbane, Sydney, Melbourne, Perth, Darwin). Divisions based on infantry units, 14 brigades of 53 battalions. Army is 1.4% of population; 1 soldier to 27 sq. mi.

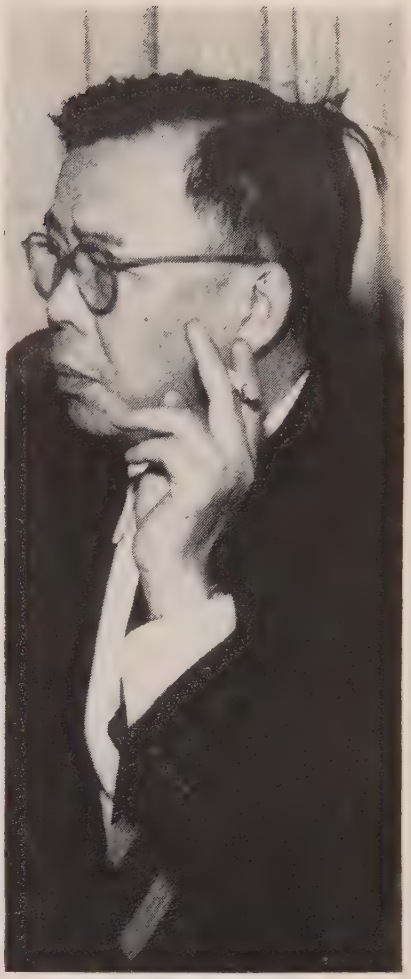
GENERAL DATA	STANDING ARMIES
BELGIUM POPULATION: 8,344,534 AREA: 11,775 *sq. mi.* MILITARY BUDGET: 10%.	Standing army (est.) of 60,000 officers and men (excl. police under military control). UMT since 1937, service for 12 to 17 months, depending on age at enlistment. Duration of military obligation 25 years (in regular army and reserves). Peacetime organization consists of frontier forces in fortress garrisons; 1 division of *Chasseurs Ardennais;* 6 infantry divisions; artillery and engineering units. Potential wartime strength 600,000 (17 combat divisions). Army is 0.75% of population; 1 soldier to 0.2 sq. mi. (Note: Colonial forces, 15,000.)
BOLIVIA POPULATION: 3,457,000 AREA: 419,470 *sq. mi.* MILITARY BUDGET: 30%.	Standing army of 15,000 (plus 12,000 police under military control). Country divided into 8 military districts, garrisoned by equal number of divisions. UMT, 2 years, 19 to 25. Pre-military training for boys and girls, 14 to 18. Army is 0.43% of population; 1 soldier to 27.9 sq. mi.
BRAZIL POPULATION: 41,356,666 AREA: 3,285,318 *sq. mi.* MILITARY BUDGET: 42%.	Army of 80,000 (plus 38,000 military police under War Office control), organized in 5 infantry, 3 (mechanized) cavalry divisions, 1 mixed brigade, 1 coast defense unit. Potential wartime strength 1.2 million. Selective service, 1 year's active service, 21 to 45. Regular army is 0.02% of population; 1 soldier to 40 sq. mi.
BULGARIA POPULATION: 7,020,000 AREA: 42,808 *sq. mi.* MILITARY BUDGET: *data not available.*	Under Part III, Section I, Article 9 of 1947 peace treaty, is authorized to maintain land army, including frontier troops and AA units, with a personnel of 56,800 (only 3,100 less than normal pre-war strength). Potential wartime strength 500,000. Army is 0.8% of population; 1 soldier to 0.75 sq. mi.
CANADA POPULATION: 12,582,000 AREA: 3,690,410 *sq. mi.* MILITARY BUDGET: 12%.	Peacetime militia of 18,700; wartime potential of 465,000. Active force consists of 14 units of all arms. Country organized in 13 military districts. Organized reserve of all arms and services. Wartime UMT with optional voluntary enlistment. Army is 0.15% of population; 1 soldier to 192 sq. mi.
CHILE POPULATION: 5,023,500 AREA: 296,717 *sq. mi.* MILITARY BUDGET: 17.5%.	National militia of 25,000, with a potential wartime strength of 1,800 officers and 725,000 other ranks; 4 military zones garrisoned by 4 divisions, 1 cavalry division (mechanized), mountain infantry regiment, field, heavy and mountain artillery, pontoon troops, engineers, signal corps. UMT, 9 months' active service, military liability between ages 20 and 40. Army is 0.5% of population; 1 soldier to 11.9 sq. mi.
CHINA POPULATION: 470,026,252 AREA: 4,278,352 *sq. mi.* MILITARY BUDGET: 80% *of national budget allocated to civil war expenses.*	Kuomintang army's present mobilized strength (est.) 5,000,000 officers and men. Approximately 1,500,000 in Communist armies. National Army organized in 135 infantry and 11 (mechanized) cavalry divisions. UMT, 3-year active service, age limits 20 to 40. Armies are 1.39% of population; 1 soldier to .66 sq. mi.
 COLOMBIA POPULATION: 10,500,000 AREA: 447,536 *sq. mi.* MILITARY BUDGET: 10%.	Peacetime strength of standing army is 10,000 (plus 5,500 police under military control), organized in infantry, artillery and cavalry regiments, and in 1 engineer battalion. Wartime potential 300,000 officers and men, insufficient equipment. UMT, 1 year service, military liability between the ages of 21 and 30. Army is 0.01% of population; 1 soldier to 44.8 sq. mi.
CUBA POPULATION: 5,051,850 AREA: 44,164 *sq. mi.* MILITARY BUDGET: 18%.	Standing army composed of 900 officers and 16,000 men, organized in 6 cavalry regiments, 4 infantry battalions, 3 batteries, auxiliary services. UMT established in June 1942. Wartime potential of all reservists estimated at 30,000. Army is 0.33% of population; 1 soldier to 2.6 sq. mi.
CZECHOSLOVAKIA POPULATION: 12,171,000 AREA: 49,330 *sq. mi.* MILITARY BUDGET: 20%.	New peacetime army of approximately 150,000 (including militarized police) is patterned after and equipped by USSR Army, under terms of Moscow Treaty of Dec. 12, 1943. UMT, 2 years, military liability between ages of 18 and 50. Army is 1.3% of population; 1 soldier to 0.3 sq. mi.
DENMARK POPULATION: 4,044,725 AREA: 16,576 *sq. mi.* MILITARY BUDGET: 13%.	National army, once composed of 6,800, now has 24,000 organized in 2 divisions. UMT, with hardly any exemptions (even for clergymen). Potential wartime strength approximately 65,000. Army is 0.59% of population; 1 soldier to 0.69 sq. mi.
EGYPT POPULATION: 19,090,448 AREA: 383,000 *sq. mi.* MILITARY BUDGET: *about* 10%.	Army in process of large-scale reorganization, expansion and re-equipment, has approximately 100,000, as compared with previous strength of 22,060. Wartime potential close to 500,000, inadequately equipped, ill-commanded. UMT hampered by poor physical condition of eligible male population. Army is 0.08% of population; 1 soldier to 3.83 sq. mi.
 ETHIOPIA POPULATION: 12,000,000 AREA: 350,000 *sq. mi.* MILITARY BUDGET: *data not available.*	A new standing army, organized, trained and commanded by officers of a British Military Mission, as well as Swedish advisers, consists of 20,000 effectives, organized in 10 battalions and including the 11,000 men of the disbanded Ethiopian Territorial Army. Army is 0.02% of population; 1 soldier to 17.5 sq. mi.

GENERAL DATA	STANDING ARMIES
FINLAND POPULATION: 4,100,000 AREA: 130,160 *sq. mi.* MILITARY BUDGET: *data not available.*	Under Part III, Article 13, of the Peace Treaty of 1947, Finland is authorized to maintain a land army, including frontier troops and AA personnel, with a total strength of 34,400 — as compared with the 33,000 prior to World War II. The postwar army is organized in 3 divisions, 1 cavalry brigade. Maximum present wartime potential is about 100,000. UMT, 1 year's service, military liability between 16 and 60. Army is 0.8% of population; 1 soldier to 3.8 sq. mi.
FRANCE POPULATION: 40,517,923 AREA: 212,659 *sq. mi.* MILITARY BUDGET: 32%.	The new standing army is composed of 500,000 divided as follows: 55,000 Republican Guards, 105,000 Metropolitan (European) Forces (consisting of 80 battalions), 120,000 occupation forces in Germany, 100,000 troops in North Africa, 120,000 troops in colonies including approximately 90,000 in operations in Indo-China. The normal peacetime army establishment of France is composed of 5 cavalry divisions (3 mechanized), 25 divisions of the Metropolitan Army. In a war emergency, France now may have approximately 30 ill-equipped divisions, as compared with 89 divisions in 1940, and 94 in 1914. Conscripts are called at 19, serve for two periods of 6 months each, military liability 19 to 48. Army is 1.5% of population; 1 soldier to .42 sq. mi.
GREECE POPULATION: 7,500,000 AREA: 51,843 *sq. mi.* MILITARY BUDGET: *Approx. 35% of national budget spent on army and war, aside from support from US and UK.*	Army engaged in civil war is estimated at 165,000, as compared with a normal peacetime strength of 50,000, organized in 13 divisions and 1 cavalry division. UMT, military liability begins at 21 and ends at 50. Normal term of service was 1 year in regular army, followed by 19 in "active" reserve. Army is 2.2% of population; 3 soldiers per sq. mi.
HUNGARY POPULATION: 8,500,000 AREA: 35,875 *sq. mi.* MILITARY BUDGET: *data not available.*	Under Part III, Section I, Article 12 of Peace Treaty of 1947, Hungary is allowed a land army, including frontier guards, AA personnel, and river flotilla units, of 65,000 effectives. According to official Hungarian sources, the country proposes to maintain only 1,800 officers and 25,000 men. At present, army is 0.08% of population; 1 soldier to 0.4 sq. mi.
INDIA AND PAKISTAN POPULATION: 388,997,955 AREA: 1,581,410 *sq. mi.* MILITARY BUDGET: *data not available.*	The two countries have armies totalling 1,000,000, in the process of large-scale reorganization, under British advisers who predominate in Pakistan. Division has been made on the basis of about 2 (to India) to 1 (to Pakistan).
 IRAN POPULATION: 12,000,000 AREA: 628,000 *sq. mi.* MILITARY BUDGET: *data not available.*	The army of 90,000 is in the process of reorganization. Army is 0.75% of population; 1 soldier to 7 sq. mi.
IRAQ POPULATION: 4,794,449 AREA: 143,000 *sq. mi.* MILITARY BUDGET: *data not available.*	A standing army of 30,000, as well as 17,601 in the Iraqi Police Force. Normal peacetime strength of regular army is 3 cavalry regiments, 9 batteries of field artillery, 6 batteries of mountain artillery, 1 mechanized battery, 28 infantry battalions, and several additional service and auxiliary units. UMT since 1936, 18 months to 2 years, between 19 and 25. Army and police are 1% of population; 1 soldier to 3 sq. mi.
ITALY POPULATION: 45,800,000 AREA: 119,764 *sq. mi.* MILITARY BUDGET: *data not available.*	Part IV of Italian Peace Treaty of 1947 is devoted to naval, military and air clauses. It contains no specific provisions for the size of the country's post-war army, but it is estimated that the reorganized Italian Republican Army has 250,000, including considerable contingents of militarized police. UMT, 1 year. The armed forces are being reorganized. Army is 0.55% of population; 1 soldier to 0.48 sq. mi.
MEXICO POPULATION: 19,844,517 AREA: 763,944 *sq. mi.* MILITARY BUDGET: 22.5%.	Post-war army of 57,500, an increase of 12,000 over normal peacetime strength, organized in 50 battalions of infantry, 40 battalions of cavalry, 2 regiments of military police, etc. UMT, every citizen is compelled to serve either in Army or National Guard. Army is 0.25% of population; 1 soldier to 13 sq. mi.
NETHERLANDS POPULATION: 9,636,486 AREA: 13,396 *sq. mi.* MILITARY BUDGET: 25%.	Although the army is still in the process of reorganization, it already has approximately 175,000 effectives. UMT, with a liability between the ages of 20 and 40. Army is 1.7% of population; 1 soldier to 0.07 sq. mi.
NEW ZEALAND POPULATION: 1,864,784 AREA: 103,934 *sq. mi.* MILITARY BUDGET: *data not available.*	Standing army of 11,000. Country's war potential is 189,000 for probable overseas service, 124,000 in Home Guard. Army is 0.59% of population; 1 soldier to 9.3 sq. mi.
NORWAY POPULATION: 3,164,000 AREA: 124,556 *sq. mi.* MILITARY BUDGET: 8%.	National Militia of 15,000 organized in 6 skeleton divisions, now undergoing thorough reorganization. Prior to war, men were called at 21, trained for 84 days. Now UMT, military liability between 18 and 55. Military system based on system of fortifications at Oscarsborg, Oslofjord, Kristiansand, Bergen and Agdenes. Army is 0.47% of population; 1 soldier to 8.3 sq. mi.

GENERAL DATA	STANDING ARMIES
 PARAGUAY POPULATION: 1,250,000 AREA: 321,000 *sq. mi.* MILITARY BUDGET: *data not available.*	Military establishment consists of 350 officers and 5,500 men, organized in 6 infantry, 1 cavalry, 5 artillery regiments. Compulsory service for 2 years begins at age of 18. Military liability continues for 27 years. Army is 0.46% of population; 1 soldier to 55 sq. mi.
PERU POPULATION: 7,271,653 AREA: 482,258 *sq. mi.* MILITARY BUDGET: 22%.	Standing army of 2,000 officers and 30,000 other ranks, plus 10,000 militarized police organized in 7 divisions furnished by equal number of military districts. Police organized in 11 cavalry regiments, 1 infantry regiment, 2 battalions. UMT, though only part of quota called to colors. Active service for 2 years, 30 years in reserve. Army is 0.57% of population; 1 soldier to 11.5 sq. mi.
POLAND POPULATION: 23,622,334 AREA: 120,782 *sq. mi.* MILITARY BUDGET: 25%.	Standing army of 200,000 effectives, garrisoned in 7 military districts (Coast, Poznan, Silesia, Cracow, Lodz, Warsaw, Lublin). Reorganization proceeds at rapid pace under guidance and partial command (4% of total) of Soviet officers. Army completely re-equipped with modern Russian weapons, including heavy tanks, heavy artillery. Army is 0.85% of population; 1 soldier to 0.6 sq. mi.
PORTUGAL POPULATION: 7,702,182 AREA: 35,490 *sq. mi.* MILITARY BUDGET: 20% *of ordinary and* 40% *of extraordinary expenditures spent on army.*	Army of 3,200 officers and 26,800 other ranks (11,330 of them in overseas possessions), is organized in 16 infantry regiments, 13 infantry battalions, 1 battalion of combat cars, 3 machine gun battalions, 3 cavalry regiments, 1 motorized regiment, services. Other semi or para-military organizations include the *Mocidade Portuguesa,* comprising all males from 8 to 20 years of age; Republican Guard of 5,720 effectives; Fiscal Guard of 5,100 effectives; Voluntary Force of 3,400 officers and 49,000 other ranks. UMT, enlistment for 6 years active service, 22 years in reserve. Country divided into 4 military zones and 3 military governments. Active army is 0.39% of population; 1 soldier to 1.18 sq. mi.
RUMANIA POPULATION: 16,500,000 AREA: 92,000 *sq. mi.* MILITARY BUDGET: *data not available.*	Under Part III, Section 1, Article 11, of Peace Treaty of 1947 country is allowed a land army, including AA personnel, with a total strength of 125,000. Normal peacetime organization consists of 22 divisions and specialized units. UMT with military liability of age groups between 21 and 50. Normal service for 2 years. Army is 0.75% of population; 1 soldier to .74 sq. mi.
SPAIN POPULATION: 27,374,401 AREA: 190,050 *sq. mi.* MILITARY BUDGET: *More than* 40%.	The decrees of July 24, 1939, August 30, 1939, August 21, 1943, and January 1, 1944, reorganizing the army along Franco lines, created a military organization of 500,000 officers and men, organized in 8 corps, 17 divisions, 1 armored division, 1 cavalry division in Spain proper; 4 divisions, 1 armored and 1 cavalry brigade in Morocco. Franco's army is the largest, best-trained and best-equipped in western Europe. Army is about 1.8% of population; 1 soldier to 0.4 sq. mi.
SWEDEN POPULATION: 6,718,717 AREA: 173,347 *sq. mi.* MILITARY BUDGET: 25%.	Army of 57,500, in a normal peacetime organization of 19 infantry, 4 cavalry, 4 tank, 9 artillery, 3 AA regiments, and 4 AA battalions. Since 1942, army is equipped with heavier tanks, heavy artillery. Number of anti-tank units was increased, to improve army's defensive strength. Infantry underwent large scale motorization. Liability for military service begins at the age of 20, continues to the end of 47th year. Army is 0.85% of population; 1 soldier to 3 sq. mi.
SWITZERLAND POPULATION: 4,506,000 AREA: 15,944 *sq. mi.* MILITARY BUDGET: 25%.	National Militia on a superb democratic basis, with 46,200, in a rather complex military organization adapted to country's peculiar defense needs. Maximum wartime potential 650,000 of whom 200,000 are combatants. Military liability extends from 18th year to end of the 60th year. Army is 1% of population; 1 soldier to .3 sq. mi.
 TURKEY POPULATION: 18,861,222 AREA: 296,502 *sq. mi.* MILITARY BUDGET: *more than* 50%.	Standing army of 20,000 officers and 174,000 effectives, organized in 11 corps of 23 divisions, 1 armored brigade, 3 cavalry divisions (partly mechanized), 7 fortress units. Wartime potential is said to be 2,000,000 effectives, but 500,000 is more likely estimate. UMT, 3 years' service, men called up at age of 20, military liability lasts for 26 years. Army is 1.1% of population; 1 soldier to 1.6 sq. mi.
URUGUAY POPULATION: 2,122,628 AREA: 72,153 *sq. mi.* MILITARY BUDGET: *data not available.*	Active army consists of 26,000 volunteers. Wartime potential is estimated at 120,000 effectives. Army organized in 9 cavalry, 5 artillery, 5 infantry, 6 engineer regiments, 1 tank unit. Most modern equipment throughout military establishment. Army is 1.2% of population; 1 soldier to 2.8 sq. mi.
VENEZUELA POPULATION: 4,000,000 AREA: 352,051 *sq. mi.* MILITARY BUDGET: *data not available.*	Active army of 10,000 effectives organized in 8 infantry brigades, and other units. Law of 1942 stipulates that volunteers must enlist for 1 year; selectees are taken for 2 years; "those who are reluctant to enlist must serve for 3 years." Military liability begins at 18, lasts for 27 years. Army is 0.25% of population; 1 soldier to 35 sq. mi.
 YUGOSLAVIA POPULATION: 16,261,125 AREA: 95,558 *sq. mi.* MILITARY BUDGET: *over* 25%.	Highly organized, strictly disciplined standing army of 800,000 (both active and active reserve), fully patterned after Red Army; 10% consist of women. UMT. Wartime potential of 1,000,000 effectives. Organized in 30 infantry, 3 cavalry divisions, 2 of which are in the process of motorization. About 5% of population in the active or reserve army; 1 soldier to 0.12 sq. mi.

Though anti-Communist (in China), Dr. Tsiang is a determined nonbelligerent in the cold war — Neither Russia nor America, he insists, has solved mankind's problems

China's Chief Delegate Tells Off Both U S and Russia



TSIANG IN A HARD-BOILED MOOD

China's chief delegate to the UN, Dr. Ting-Fu Tsiang, has been toughened in political and diplomatic conflict. During the war he was Chiang Kai-shek's budget-maker. Before that he was Chiang's director of political affairs and ambassador to the USSR. More recently Dr. Tsiang has been director of CNRRA, representative to UNRRA and chairman of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. During the politically stormy month of March he headed the Security Council and, in April-May, the Political and Security Committee of the Special Assembly on Palestine. A plain talker, he speaks bluntly in this exclusive UNW interview.

BY FRANCIS W. CARPENTER

1 *Is a solution possible in Palestine? If so, under what conditions?*

"My reaction to the Palestine case has from the beginning been that there must be a solution by *agreement between the Jews and the Arabs*. If this *agreement* is impossible, then I must reach the conclusion that a *solution* is impossible."

2 *What is your opinion on the cold war between Soviet Russia and the Western powers?*

"The ideological war is the biggest question of the 20th century. We see that the conflict is getting us nowhere. To reach a solution, all people must make up their minds to respect the ideology of others. That is what ended the religious wars. After the Thirty Years war the world settled down to a gentleman's agreement recognizing the various sects and religions.

"It is all right for a man to say a good word about his own church, for example, but he must not say bad things about another church. That is what starts the trouble.

"We must not repeat the Thirty Years War. We must arrive at a final solution in a shorter time.

"And it is impossible to maintain that the world must accept *one* system. After all, the United States and Soviet Russia have not exhausted the wisdom of mankind."

3 *Is American aid to China sufficient? What about communism in China?*

"As to the Chinese communists, there is a legend here in the United States that the Chinese communists are unlike communists elsewhere — that they make up a people's party. It is true that the Chinese communists soft-pedalled the class struggle during the war, just as the communists did everywhere. But Americans should not base a legend of democracy on that. Today the Chinese communists have reverted to their more fundamental thesis, and they do not differ from other communists elsewhere.

"If the Chinese government had accepted the argument of General Stilwell, who wanted to give the communists lend-lease material, China now would be another Yugoslavia.

"Communism in China began as a revolt in the Chinese army. It did not start as a class struggle. It is a remnant of the old war-lord fighting. The Chinese people want peace. They do not want war. Yet so many are so poor that they join the army of any war lord for a few dollars a month.

"American aid to China on the military side is grossly inadequate. On the civilian side we can barely get along. We need particularly rifles, rifle bullets, machine guns, and heavy air equipment. Tanks are no good for us, they would bog down in the mud.

"Tell Americans not to indulge too much in lecturing us. Americans always appear to have the idea that they can run a country better than its natives."

No Swiss is Typical

BERNE
is realistic, anti-poetic

BASEL
rich, intellectual, artistic

ZURICH
commercial, avid for culture

GENEVA
witty, cosmopolitan. . . .

And the people vary
even more than the cities

THIS IS ONE SWITZERLAND

THE SNOWY ALP, the lake are typical, but the cross, toeless sandals, cone-shaped basket — all identify this as a southern (Italian) Swiss roadside in summertime.

BY TIBOR KOEVES

Travel Editor

One could fit 16 Switzerlands into the state of Texas and have room left for a king-sized ranch. Yet in Switzerland's 16,000 mountain-strewn, lake-dotted, housewife-tidy square miles are 22 separate republics — the tiny cantons which make up the Helvetian Confederation.

The Confederation was born almost 700 years ago, but its 4,426,000 people still speak four different languages — German, French, Italian, Romansch — and retain an individuality which offers the world a practical working model for a true United Nations.

The variety of Switzerland is both physical and mental. Towering mountain ranges alternate with green lowland valleys and tumbling alpine streams come to rest in broad, motionless lakes; cosmopolitan modern cities dot a nation of remote herdsmen's villages. Perhaps no other country shows more and sharper contrasts.

The international Switzerland of the tourist has a uniform veneer laid on by hotels, railways and other services. The hurried visitor never sees past this veneer.

But one need only take a quiet second look at the four largest cities — Zurich, Geneva, Basel, Bern — to see how amazingly the Swiss can vary.

Bern, the capital, located on the curving Aar River, is a perfect blend of ancient and modern. Its famous old arcaded streets — Gerechtigkeitgasse, Kramgasse, Marktgasse, Spitalgasse — are sumptuous with monumental fountains in flamboyant gothic style; at the same time they are centers of an active commercial and social life.

Twice a week markets are held there which scarcely have changed in the last five centuries. For hundreds of years the name stalls have been set up in the same locations: those of peasant women selling fruits and vegetables, those of butchers, fowl merchants, cheesemongers.

Thrift, conservatism and administrative talent are bred into the 129,331 Bernese. They are hard-headed realists, traditionally distrustful of poet or artist.

It was a Bernese land owner who asked the French philosopher Voltaire, "Why the devil, Monsieur, do you write so much poetry?" Best-sellers in Bern are apt to be books on horticulture rather than love. In consequence, perhaps, Bern's thinkers, writers and artists have preferred to live and die in exile rather than among their fellow-townsmen. It was one of the latter who wrote categorically:

"The virtues of Bern are sincerity and thoroughness; the Bernese mind is not scientific or artistic, but realistic, close to earth and prefers character to intellect."

Serious-Minded Basel

Realism is not carried to such extremes, but neither is it lacking in the 169,000 inhabitants of Basel — the city which lies almost precisely at the three-way corner where Switzerland, France and Germany meet.

Basel's university was founded in 1460 and the natives acquired the art of printing three years later; today other Swiss often accuse Baslers of being intellectually smug and deficient in humor.

They do take themselves seriously, but Baslers, in contrast to the Bernese, deeply admire intellectual and artistic achievement. Jacob Burckhardt, one of the great savants of the 19th century, was born in Basel; so was Arnold Boecklin, the painter. Herman Hesse, Nobel Prize-winning poet (1946), was of Basler parentage. The philosopher Nietzsche taught at Basel's university.

Probably the 15th century was Basel's greatest. The ecumenical (Church) council held there from 1431 to 1443 made Basel the center of the Western world. Nostalgia for past glory undoubtedly strengthens the Basler's desire for bigger and better artists, writers, musicians — and financiers.

For today Basel is the financial center of the Continent. It has more millionaires than any other Swiss city. These money men are patricians: there is no fuss or clamor around their exchanges and brokerage houses.

But Baslers' greatest pride remains the city itself. I remember meeting two youths from Basel in a poolroom in Rome. "What is the most characteristic feature of your home town?" I asked them between shots. They leaned on their cues, thinking; finally one spoke. "The fact cannot be denied," he said with calm boastfulness, "that Basel has the most perfect street-cleaning system in the whole world."

Not far east of Basel, at the head of Lake Zurich, is the Germanic city of that name. Switzerland's biggest urban center (population 357,000), Zurich has a strangely provincial character. Provincial towns normally do, reproduce and discuss what others have done. Zurich has looked too long to the centers of German culture, Vienna and Berlin, to be a truly self-sufficient city.

True, this was changed temporarily by the advent of Nazism. Writers and publishers ejected by Hitler flocked to Zurich. For a time the city became a focus of German arts and letters; its theaters had a blood transfusion of anti-Nazi talent.

Today Zurich also dotes on American plays. Recent smash hits include *The Gentle People*, *The Skin of Our Teeth* and *The Glass Menagerie;* currently awaited with eagerness is *Mister Roberts*. Aside: since Switzerland has no Negroes, *Porgy and Bess* was played in Zurich by white actors wearing a striking dark-blue makeup.

Though Zurichers lack artistic originality, they make up for it by a sincere love of culture from external sources. Their intellectual level is high, thanks to an outstanding school system and an ardor for things pedagogical which cuts across all sectors of the population.

Zurich also is a city of commerce. These days Switzerland is a bridge between East and West. Though it belongs politically and spiritually to the latter, economically it is the most important country for the nations beyond the Iron Curtain.

Switzerland fills the gap left by the destruction of Germany. Swiss banks finance private undertakings in Romania, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary. Swiss factories furnish machinery and finished goods. In return, the larder of the Swiss *hausfrau* is filled with Balkan fruit, vegetables, meat, cereal. And the greater part of this commerce funnels through Zurich.

The City Looking West

Meanwhile, to the west, Zurich is rivaled by another city on a lake of its own: Geneva. Where Zurich has been oriented to Germany, Geneva has looked to France. Its great names are John Calvin and Jean Jacques Rousseau — two men with notably different approaches to human problems, but each in his way a moralist.

The ancient Calvinist aristocracy still takes a severe view of life, but the rest of Geneva's 135,000 people

are a gay-excitement-loving lot. Genevese can be scintillating, witty, ironic. Street children often show the same humor and irreverance as the *gamins* of Paris.

Perhaps because they spent so many centuries defending their independence (Geneva joined the Helvetian Confederation only in 1815), the Genevese are very politically minded and addicted to intrigue. With their dual training in moral philosophy and international politics, their city was predestined as the seat of the League of Nations. When that august body folded up, Geneva had a letdown which amounted to a depression. But today the city again is coming into its own.

During World War I, Switzerland was the espionage center of the globe. In World War II, when it became surrounded by Axis territory, that dubious honor passed to Portugal and Sweden. Now Switzerland once again swarms with intelligence operatives (the Soviet Legation in Bern alone has 120 employees). And Geneva is getting most of them — not to mention such top-drawer refugees as King Leopold of Belgium, compromised generals and politicians from France, exiled statesmen from Eastern Europe.

Eyeing the local glut of Bulgarians and Romanians, one Genevese recently remarked, "Our city has become a suburb of the Balkans." In any case it again is as hard to find an apartment in Geneva is it was before 1939.

So much for Switzerland's four big towns. To the tourist, the country's one-world nature may be even better revealed in its pleasure spots. Two extreme examples are St. Moritz, international winter resort in the Engadine Valley, and Ascona, on beautiful half-Swiss, half-Italian Lago Maggiore.

St. Moritz, first, is a dreamland of glamor and sophistication, a magic mountain on which the rich parade their riches, beautiful women their beauty, titled folk their titles.

The hotels hit a peak in decor — and prices. The entertainment, outdoors or indoors, is strictly big-time. Here Barbara Hutton found her latest prince. King Michael of Romania his princess. Here the privileged few may enjoy every comfort, refinement and diversion the 20th century has been able to think up.

Ascona, on the other hand, is Switzerland's gift to the Bohemians. Basically it is only a small village surrounded by scenery. But it happens to have a quota of natives — Ticinese, or

Land of bankers, traders and intellectuals

THIS IS ZURICH

UNIVERSITY STUDENTS, surrounded by reminders of ancient Greece, are intent on an archeological lecture. The second-story columns are almost Doric, the high arches neoclassical.

THIS IS BASEL

THE CITY'S AGE shows in the stair-step street up which a jeep would be hard to climb. Germanic roots are evidenced in the steeples and in the signs. At the left, G. Lienhard — Goldsmith.

Swiss-Italians — who are as different from the earnest Bernese peasants or the Zurich merchants as is a friendly parrot from a polar bear. Their outlook is that of the whole canton — shrewd yet casual, with a touch of that nonchalance that spells rebellion against conventional thinking.

As a result Ascona has been haven to the bourgeois-ridden of Europe for half a century. First came the poets and painters (especially from Germany); they were followed by rebels of all kinds, health cultists, nudists, unorthodox lovers.

There they rented small houses of standard rural design and settled down to rejoice in the sunshine and the utter absence of interference or censorship. St. Moritz is the playground of the world's wealthy but Ascona is the sanctuary of those who seek freedom. And both are as Swiss as the Matterhorn.

America's No. 1 lady epigrammatist, Dorothy Parker, once made a tour of Switzerland and quipped that the country is beautiful but dumb. Being a poet, Miss Parker may have missed a certain passion, a transported imagination. Yet in today's world, where the crying need is a formula for communal living without loss of individuality, little Switzerland seems beautiful — and smart.

TRAVEL INTELLIGENCE

CUNARD'S White Star Line has added two new ships to its Liverpool-New York run. *The Parthia*, 13,500 tons, carries 250 passengers, all first class. Fares from $260 to $290. The reconditioned *Britannic*, 27,000 tons, accommodates 993 in two classes. Minimum fares $160, tourist, $280, first class.

THIS YEAR, for the first time, tourists will be able to visit Sweden's "land of midnight sun" by automobile. The rationing of gasoline for private cars now being introduced in Sweden will not affect the cars brought along by foreign tourists. Sweden is co-operating with Finland and Norway in opening the wild arctic region of northern Scandinavia to cars. Sweden's existing Lapland roads are being improved and extended and soon will be linked to the arctic highway systems of the neighbor countries.

THE NETHERLANDS West Indies are making considerable efforts to extend their tourist trade and are planning to build new hotels on the principal islands, Curaçao and Aruba. At the same time, however, the authorities are insisting on exceedingly strict travel regulations. Temporary visitors must have a visaed passport, a health certificate showing that they have had no communicable disease within ten days, a smallpox-inoculation certificate, a police certificate of good conduct for the preceding year, and four photographs. Even transit visitors who arrive and depart the same day must show a passport, the smallpox certificate and police certificate.

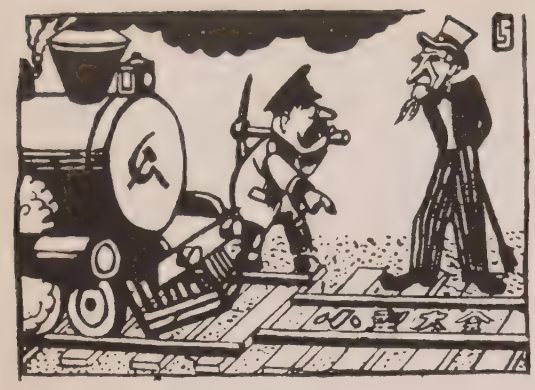
The language spoken on the islands is a linguistic freak called Papiamento: a mixture of Spanish, Dutch, Portuguese, Yiddish, English, plus expressions from the dialects of the South American and Carib Indians. Local newspapers are published in Papiamento.

THE REASSURING results of the Italian elections have come too late to stimulate tourism considerably. It is estimated that fear of unsettled conditions made Italy lose 50 million tourist dollars this year. Americans in Rome are mainly members of the movie colony engaged in making pictures. They report that the hotel and food situation is among the best in Europe.

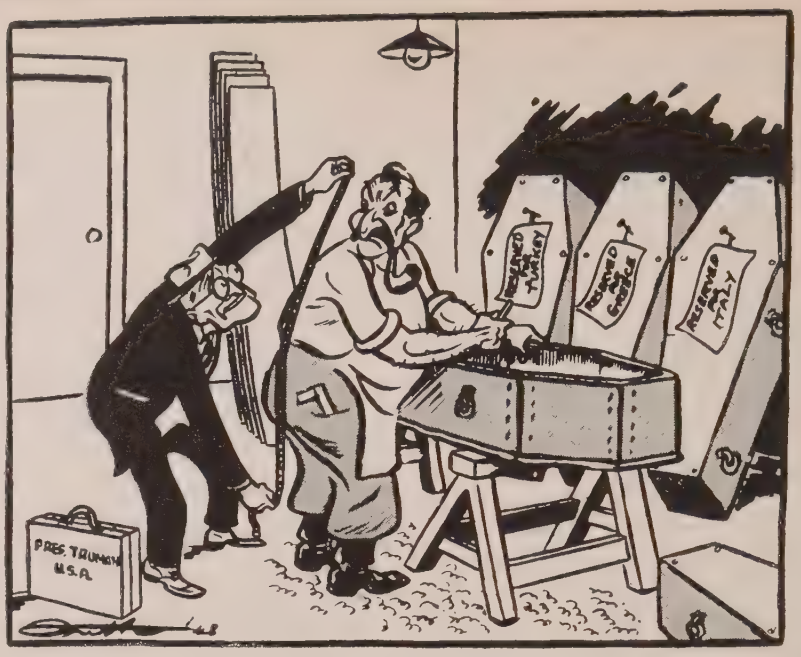
DRAB GREY PAVEMENT on the broad Place de l'Opéra and the star-shaped intersection around the Arc de Triomphe and other Parisian landmarks, is being replaced by multicolored mosaics. The mosaic pavement covering about 130,000 square yards will be similar to that in the public squares of Rio and Florence.

THIS IS GENEVA

GENEVESE GAYETY is well-expressed by this striking night photograph. Across the bay a line of the city's apartments, in mid-bay a lighted waterspout fountain, at the pier, typical Lake Geneva pleasure craft. The shoreline boulevard in foreground leads to the buildings of the League of Nations. The famous Promenade is marked by the line of lights in foreground.



Enemies Meet on a Narrow Track (UN Little Assembly)
Jen Pao, Nanking.



"Hold still a moment. Joe; I'm thinking of starting a rival business."
Sydney Morning Herald, Sydney.

Franco-American Financial Relations
Szpilki, Warsaw.

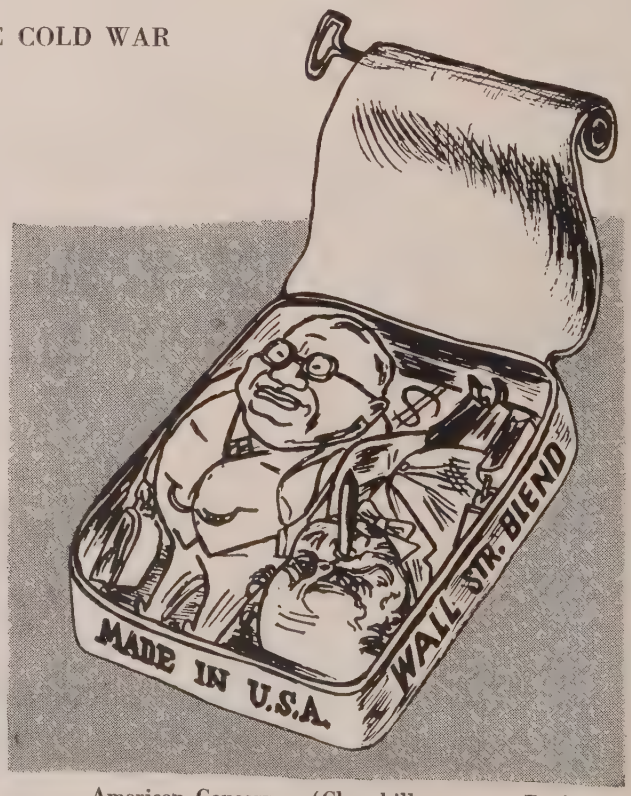
World's Cartoonists See

BRITISH POLICY

ERP

THE COLD WAR

"It's no use you waiting. I've taken a policy with this young lady."
Sydney Morning Herald, Sydney.



American Conserves. (Churchill approves Bevin foreign policy)
Szpilki, Warsaw.

UN DIARY

EUROPE BEGINS BUILDING 2,000,000 NEW HOMES

THERE'LL BE A BIRTHDAY THIS MONTH

UN LENDS A HAND TO MD'S AND MIGRANT WORKERS

BY EVELYN G. KESSEL and JEANNE WASHABAUGH

Delegates Talk Peace While The Cannons Roar

When late in March, Ambassador Warren R. Austin suggested that the General Assembly be called into special session to find still another solution for the Palestine problem, he had to admit that the US had no plan ready.

There was still no plan when the Assembly met on April 16. A few days later the US proposed a kind of trusteeship for all Palestine pending a permanent solution.

The proposal was introduced without enthusiasm, debated to death in committee, and killed again by final vote.

On May 14, the Assembly adjourned after authorizing a powerless mediator to be named by the Big Five. The dismal impotence of UN was sharply contrasted by dynamic events in Palestine: the British terminated their mandate, the Jews proclaimed their State of Israel and the member states of the Arab League attacked it — all as scheduled.

Though cannons roared in the Holy Land, on Long Island the quiet work of peace went on. Progress was made toward agreements to restore economic equilibrium, protect migrant workers and write a bill of human rights for all the world.

But the muddy, shifting waters of the special Assembly session clouded the more cheerful currents. . . .

Opening Day of the second special session of the General Assembly had little of the glamor of most "openings." Delegates went through the ceremony without enthusiasm, elected Argentina's José Arce Assembly president over the 2-1 favorite. Dr. T. F. Tsiang of China (see page 33).

Warren Austin, US delegate, looked pale, nervous and ill in the Lounge after lunch. The US switch from whole-hearted support of partition had resulted in the special session. When the US had no substitute plan ready for presentation as the Assembly opened, there were embarrassing murmurs of "Why are we here?"

Uruguay, Guatemala, Australia, USSR and New Zealand repeated their support for partition and demanded that it be enforced. The Arabs weren't satisfied with the trusteeship suggestion; the Jewish Agency flatly refused to accept anything less than partition and declared that the Jewish state would become a fact when the 25-year-old British mandate ended May 15.

When the Assembly turned to committee sessions, Arab-Jewish civil war in Palestine mounted in bitterness. British troops entered the fighting, and frightened UN delegates narrowed their task down to one of preserving what little order remained in the

THE SUBJECT IS TRUCE IN JERUSALEM

CHAIRMAN of the Trusteeship Council, Francis A. Sayre, US, discusses truce cable to Arab Higher Committee with Jamal el-Husseini. Then, with Jewish delegates, he checks over their cable to Emergency Council in Jerusalem. The Jews are (l. to r.) Dr. Eliash Mordecai and Moshe Shertok. To their right are Dr. Ralph Bunche, UN Secretariat expert, and Benjamin Gerig, US.

holy places of Palestine.

Besides the US trusteeship plan, the Subcommittee had before it two other alternatives: 1.) reaffirmation of partition which was supported by USSR, Ukraine, New Zealand, Australia and Guatemala, and 2.) Britain's suggestion to set up an interim neutral authority to hold legal reins until the September Assembly session.

In almost four weeks of weary debate, enforcement had not been specifically proposed.

Meantime, battle lines were being drawn up. The Jews had about 88,800 men in Haganah, Irgun and the Stern Group; the Palestinian Arabs were joined by King Abdullah's 10,000-man mechanized Arab Legion, plus Egyptian and Syrian Army units and other invaders from the surrounding Arab countries.

The Jews in Palestine and throughout the world, set May 15 as the birth day for their new state. "There will not be a moment's vacuum as far as the Jewish state is concerned," said Moshe Shertok. USSR, Poland and Guatemala hinted they might give it diplomatic recognition.

New capital of the Jewish state will be a suburb of Tel Aviv called Sarona (from Sharon — plain). The Jews plan to bring in 150,000 DPs by May, 1949, are ready to build 1,000 houses a month.

The Arabs, at the same time, plan their own state to include all of Palestine. King Abdullah of Transjordania, in a note to Sir Alan Cunningham, British High Commissioner, has asked recognition of Arab sovereignty. He promised the Jews a national home and citizenship rights.

Pablo d'Azcarate, head of the Palestine Commission's advance party to Jerusalem, told reporters at Lake Success that partition is an accomplished fact. The issue, he said, is peace or war and he warned that any halt in food shipment and garbage control will threaten Palestine with epidemics this summer.

USSR Takes Trusteeship Seat

USSR broke its boycott of the Trusteeship Council on April 25. Obvious reason was the possibility that the US proposal for a trusteeship over Palestine might be accepted. Previously the Russians had held that the trusteeship agreements violated UN's Charter, and therefore the Council is illegal. In a note to Trygve Lie, Andrei Gromyko, without explicitly withdrawing the Soviet charge of illegality, announced that S. K. Tsarapkin would be representative on the Council.

On April 27, Mr. Tsarapkin took the twelfth seat in the Council. It had stood empty since the first Trusteeship Council meeting early in 1947.

RUSSIAN ENTERS THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

S. K. TSARAPKIN, USSR, left, listens to Sir Carl Berendsen, New Zealand, argue for partition and UN integrity, which he supported in Assembly's most inspired speech. Others are John Reid, also a New Zealander, and Assist. Sec. Gen. Robert Jackson.

Atomic Fizzle

The Atomic Energy Commission, set up two years ago for the laudable purpose of working out a plan to assure a frightened world that it need not commit suicide, quit trying in May.

The British, French and US delegations took the initiative in recommending that the UN abandon efforts at organizing control of the atom. The Russian delegate, they said, was obdurate; he wouldn't agree to their plan; they had reached an impasse.

The Russian, Mr. Gromyko (who will be replaced after July by Yacob Malik, also a deputy foreign minister), said that agreement was possible — "if the US desires agreement."

One effect of the Commission's recommendation that further action be postponed until Russia modifies her views is to throw the sizzling atom back into the Assembly's lap. Others are that US will continue stockpiling bombs, USSR will continue trying to solve the bomb riddle, and "radiation sickness" still remains a threat to the peoples of the world.

Czecho Checkmate

For four hours one grey day late in April, the Security Council debated again the question of Czechoslovakia which had been overshadowed by Palestine. The long, wrangling session decided nothing and the Chilean proposal — to set up a subcommittee to hold hearings on USSR's role in the Communist assumption of power in Prague — was not put to a vote.

The spectre of the veto hung over the Council chamber; Argentine delegate José Arce appealed to Gromyko to refrain, arguing he would press the UN to amend the Charter and abolish the veto entirely, a favorite Arcian preoccupation.

Whether or not the veto would block further UN investigation into Czech "events" depended technically on whether the question was deemed *procedural* or *substantive*. Actually, it depended solely on whether the USSR *wished* to veto the investigation. A procedural question does not require unanimity. A substantive question does. The joker is that the decision *whether* any question is procedural or substantive is itself a substantive matter and therefore subject to veto.

How Many Koreas Can You Have?

Before the May 10 elections, Korea's political broth was boiling furiously. One candidate for a National Assembly seat and many local election committeemen were murdered and hundreds of attacks made on offices where registration lists and ballots were stored. Nevertheless. more than 90 per cent of the registered voters cast their ballots.

This was the Korean woman's first vote. Almost 40 per cent of the seven million registered voters were women and their sex was represented by 19 candidates for 200 seats in the National Assembly.

Illiteracy — a major handicap to any free election — was dealt with by special ballots which identified candidates by snapshots and by number as well as name. More than 50 per cent of the people in the US Zone are illiterate.

Meantime, in Pyongyang, capital of Soviet-occupied North Korea, political leaders from both zones had met. protested the elections in the South. adopted a constitution and set up an all-Korea government on May 1. Its temporary capital will be in Pyongyang.

Heroine Hawranik

You will find Manuela Hawranik. blue-eyed and blonde, at the main information desk at Lake Success. There, in French-intoned English, she helps answer questions ceaselessly pouring out of 14 telephones, compiles up-to-the-minute data for the Secretariat about Conferences, commissions, delegations.

Recently in a busy five minutes she handed out Security Council reservations to Deborah Kerr and Myrna Loy, fished a dollar from her purse for a matron who had lost hers, calmed another who hadn't liked the show and wanted the UN to pay her fare back to Pittsburgh, directed Boris Karloff to the Delegates' Lounge and shushed a handful of youngsters who were demanding autographs from the stars of Hollywood and Lake Success.

Mrs. Hawranik (she is a GI bride of 1945) joined the UN when it was still at Hunter College, its first temporary home.

Still in her twenties, Manuela has flair for great and dramatic events. Fragile as a heroine of a French Romantic novel, she has a rugged record with the Resistance.

Throughout the war she lived with her Belgian parents, the Marquis and Marquise de Serra, in a small chateau in the south of France. Though her parents disapproved, she joined the Underground in the Maquis. "I simply had to do it. *C'etait plus fort que moi!*"

Her job was to gather information for the invasion, searching out and reporting arms and ammunition depots. She was twice arrested by the Gestapo. The first time she and other young Maquis escaped during transfer from one prison to another. All fled into a dark movie theater where they shook off pursuit. She managed this in spite of crippling injuries. For weeks thereafter she was barely able to move because of the beatings she had received in prison.

Right after the invasion she was captured a second time near her father's chateau, but talked her way out of the predicament. The chiefs of the local Maquis, who were hiding in her home, were tipped off that the entire unit had been denounced. Most of them escaped through an underground passage.

Her parents were gone and Manuela was out shopping when the Germans arrived. "When I returned," she recalls, "there were the German tanks and combat cars right on our front terrace."

A Prussian captain questioned her a long time and finally ordered her hauled away to prison in one of the German cars. The officer in charge of the car was more susceptible to Manuela's innocent charm. "I told him that I was only 16, and how could I possibly do any harm?" Had she seen his country, the officer asked. "*Oui. J'adore l'Allemagne,* and Hitler is such a great man."

So he let her go, saying, "Surely this little girl can have nothing to do with the Maquis."

Her parents only heard the next day that she had been captured and released. Later they learned from the records at Gestapo headquarters that they, too, were to have been arrested on a date already set. "But the liberation took place five days before that day," Manuela concluded with a pleased sigh.

A year later, then interpreting for the American Army in Belgium, she met a handsome American of Hungarian descent. Both were interested in psychology and philosophy. Spinoza helped him make an initial impression. By the time they reached the *Critique of Pure Reason,* they were as one soul. They were married in Paris at the Madeleine. "There was a party of 500 at my aunt's on the Avenue Foche," said Manuela. "You never saw such a big wedding cake."

The tenor of Manuela's way is smooth now. Her sister has come from France and does the housekeeping. But there was an echo of the

INTERNATIONAL INFORMATION DISPENSED HERE

MANUELA HAWRANIK, photographed at the main information desk at Lake Success, answers questions, shows directions. She is daughter of a Belgian marquis, fought Nazis with French Maquis. Her rings are symbols of attachment to an ex-GI, her husband.

hectic days when they settled in New York. They were evicted from their first apartment when their baby was seven days old. Later they found a place in Peter Cooper Village and, after a lengthy search for a nurse, they found one *a la Americaine* — through their laundryman's daughter-in-law's cousin.

Council Scores on Kashmir

After almost four months of futile attempts at compromise, the Security Council has agreed on a solution of the Indian-Pakistan dispute over Kashmir. Neither side is satisfied. Pakistan does not think the UN gives enough assurance that the Kashmir plebiscite will be free from Indian influence. India does not want Pakistan to have any voice in planning the plebiscite since, until the people of Kashmir decide differently, they are a legal part of India. (After India was partitioned, the Maharaja of Kashmir exercising his legal, princely prerogative, had decided to join India.) India also is disappointed that the Council resolution did not condemn Pakistan which, India maintains, did nothing to stop tribesmen from invading Kashmir.

The Security Council voted to set up a five-man commission to go to Kashmir and restore order, then arrange for and supervise a plebiscite so the Kashmiris themselves can decide to which nation they wish to belong — reversing their ruler if they choose.

India has named Czechoslovakia to the Commission and Pakistan chose Argentina. When Czechoslovakia and Argentina were unable to agree on a third member, US was named by the Security Council at the suggestion of Alexander Parodi (France). The Security Council also appointed Belgium and Colombia.

The Security Council drew a deep breath after this accomplishment, and Britain's Philip Noel-Baker put its pride into words: "If the Security Council had done nothing else but help India and Pakistan to avoid a conflict, that alone would have earned them the gratitude of all mankind."

Freedom of the Press, Three Steps Nearer

If last minute "love and kisses" speeches are any indication, press freedom is nearer as result of the Conference on Freedom of Information. It closed its session April 21 in Geneva after approving three conventions: 1.) on free collection and transmission of news; 2.) on freedom to impart and give information and opinions; 3.) on publication of denials of allegedly false reports.

Main differences boiled down to which comes first: the freedom or the responsibility? US took the most extreme position in opposing most measures that would limit freedom. USSR, on the other hand, insisted that, without controls, the world gets not freedom, but license.

Precocious

When the UN celebrates its third birthday on June 26, it will have held more than 6,000 meetings and congresses, will have given birth to more than 50 commissions, committees and subcommittees.

UN's "Grapes of Wrath"

Migrant workers were the raw meat of contention in the Social Commission at its last session.

Russia wanted worker migration permitted only under temporary, bilateral agreements, binding governments to see that migrants get equal social and economic rights and that they remain free to return home when they please.

The final report merely recommended UN members to grant equality to native and foreign workers alike, pending the completion of a convention which will specify rules.

As one of its main projects — a study of crime prevention and treatment of offenders — the Social Commission requested the Secretariat to send out questionnaires on crime control to the 58 UN nations.

Housing Shortage

Fifteen European countries will need to build almost two million homes every year for the next five years if their people are to be decently housed.

In 1948 the 15 all together will build only 660,000 dwellings.

These startling figures were reported to the Economic Commission for Europe, meeting in Geneva. Twenty-six European nations and the United States were represented. Spain

ALL ABOARD FOR PARIS

HOMEWARD bound are six French children flown here by Air France to march in New York's United Nations Appeal for Children parade. Afterward, they took in the Zoo, saw a baseball game and the circus where the boys acquired the cowboy hats.

was not invited. Portugal didn't come.

The session started off in an atmosphere of almost sweet concord with all present paying tribute to ECE's accomplishments. France's George Boris said that the allocations of coke by the Coal Committee which resulted in greater steel production alone would justify the existence of ECE.

Russia praised ECE also but diluted its approbation with charges that the Commission's coal and allocations committees were bypassing the Control Council in order to bring about partition of Germany and violate the Potsdam decisions. She said too that ECE is forgetting its first job: to help *all* European nations, no matter what their politics. At Soviet suggestion, a subcommittee will be set up to study ways to develop industries in war-devastated and industrially under-developed countries.

How Many, Please?

Many countries will take census in 1950. And the counting won't be limited to human beings. UN's Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) is going to count the world's cows, pigs and chickens, too.

UN's Statistical Commission, however, is the agency most concerned with the censi.

On its list even before 1950, are a study of national incomes, investment statistics, a census of industrial production. The income study is in the final stages. Prepared at Lake Success by some of the world's top economic brains, it covers 50 countries which represent 85 per cent of the world's national income.

First Aid for Schools

On their way to eight war-devastated countries are film projectors, phonographs, typewriters, chemical products, microfilm readers and paints. These are part of the $100,000 shipment being sent by UNESCO to help re-equip schools, libraries and scientific institutions.

China will get more of the equipment than any other nation. Poland, Greece, Czechoslovakia, Philippines, Italy, Hungary and Austria will also share.

ILO Urges Greek Labor Reforms

ILO labor experts visited Greece last fall at the government's request. Now, in a 110,000 word report, they are recommending sweeping revision of Greek laws restrictive to labor.

More than a million and a half persons out of a population of about seven million are classed as "indigent" by the report. Inflation is a serious problem; there is no market for Greek goods. Agricultural and industrial production are both still below pre-war levels. Although tax collections are only 60 per cent of the pre-war figure, the national budget is several times pre-war size.

Living standards for the working class are far worse than before the war. One of the reasons, says the ILO report, is the lack of a solid and united trade union movement. To supply this lack, the Report suggests that workers be granted the right to freedom of association, that unions be free of political influence, that trade union laws be codified, that anti-union laws be repealed.

Other recommendations would give labor a stronger voice in the government, improve wages, hours and working conditions and provide for more and better vocational training.

Radio "Oscar" for UN Broadcast

"The United Nations Today," UN's 15-minute radio show, won the George Foster Peabody award for its contribution to increasing American understanding of what the United Nations is trying to do. The program, produced at Lake Success, is carried daily over 115 US stations.

Genocide: International Crime

In one of the highly civilized modernistic conference rooms at Lake Success, a committee has drawn up a convention on the highly uncivilized crime of genocide.

The convention defines genocide as deliberate acts committed with the intention of destroying national, racial, religious or political groups. It covers not only killing members of such a group but also imposing on them subhuman conditions of life. It specifically covers sterilization. It just as specifically does not provide any punishment for race murder; this will be left up to the national courts.

USSR voted "no" on the convention and Poland abstained. Russia protested that it was Fascism which must be rooted out, that genocide is organically bound up with Fascism — which still exists (see World Fascism, page 14).

THEY SURVEY ECONOMIC STABILITY

AT THE BAR in the Lounge, an economic subcommittee checks over their report. Left to right: Gunnar Boe, Norway; Jerzy Lutoslawski, Poland; John Deutsch, Canada; Isador Lubin, US; D. P. Kazmakar, India; L. L. Lorwin, US; D. Weintraub, UN.

IN THE BOOK-REVIEW SECTION —
MEMOIRS OF THE FORMER SECRETARY OF WAR
PEARL BUCK'S NOVEL, "PEONY"

What's Wrong with Hollywood

Famous scenarist repeats the old charge that it kills originality — but offers a new, simple explanation of why it cannot do otherwise

BY GEZA HERCZEG
Author and scenarist of the academy award-winning screen play, "The Life of Zola"

In Hollywood, the leading studios turn out about 300 pictures a year. This means that about eight producers — "in charge of production" — have the last word on 30 to 50 feature pictures a year. Louis B. Mayer, Darryl F. Zanuck, Harry Cohn, Dore Schary, William Goetz, Jack Warner, Henry Ginsberg, et al. These gentlemen are, undoubtedly, good showmen. But are they good enough to make all decisions on so many pictures — and make the right ones?

Production of a Broadway play — one set, ten actors, three acts, with a 60 to 70 thousand dollar investment — is a complicated matter. Imagine Max Gordon or Brock Pemberton or Jed Harris undertaking to produce two — three — four — five dozen plays a year? The Hollywood producer wizards do it — with a simple snap of the finger, just like that.

Centralization of production in one hand, no matter whose, is a grave fault of American movies. It stifles originality and variety.

A successful play, on which its original author worked for one or two years, is adapted by two or three experienced screen writers, becomes — in one short session, mostly on the decision of the producer "in charge of all production" — a "product," a "typical" Hollywood movie.

A basic problem must be settled in the minds of all who are responsible for picture making in Hollywood. Is the making of motion pictures strictly and exclusively an industry, or has it anything to do with art?

If Hollywood is the Detroit of film entertainment, then and only then can the prevailing system be acceptable. But, if picture making has anything to do with art, the assembly line system has to be abolished. And John Ford's pictures, the late Ernst Lubitsch's famous "touch," John Huston's daring experiments, Frank Capra's deep humanity, Sir Lawrence Olivier's phenomenal Shakespeare adaptations, the universal significance of the Italian pictures, the poetry of some French products, all prove that the motion pictures definitely *do* have something to do with art.

What can be done, then, to make American movies better reflect that significant fact? What magic for instance, do the Italian and French employ? "Open City," "Shoeshine," "To Live in Peace" — pictures made for less than Hollywood spends on its scripts — amazed and excited audiences. Why? Because each one had timeliness, a theme, and real characters — with genuine and human faces.

This last is no insignificant detail. Look at the people in the Italian — or even French and British — pictures. They are human beings. The make-up man might have put some powder on their faces, or some rouge, but he had not tried to reform or deform their appearance.

What happens in Hollywood? The Linda Darnells do not look as they really are, but the way the make-up man decides they should. The Jack Dawns, the Westmores and the others dream up some beauty idea and (though it may not conform at all with the personality of the actress concerned) proceed to transform her into a reasonable facsimile of their concept. The result is a dummy, unreal and unhuman.

There has recently been an Italian picture running on Broadway called "Furia." Isa Pola, the Marlene Dietrich of the Italian screen, looked

THE HOLLYWOOD FACE

THIS IS "ALLURE." Hair set, eyelashes cemented, cheeks creamed, powdered and rouged, lips painted on with a brush.

THE NATURAL FACE

THIS IS FEMALE. An Italian girl plays a part in the film "Paisan" — with unplucked eyebrows, her own lashes and lips.

like Isa Pola. A young actress, Adriana Bennetti, looks like Adriana Bennetti — real, sincere, totally enchanting. The conventional Hollywood make-up man would probably call her "ugly" but the audience adores her. The "New Yorker's" film critic said that she looks ravishing — "an ingenue as she should look but never does."

In Hollywood an actress has to have the fame of a Katherine Hepburn, Claudette Colbert, Bette Davis, Ingrid Bergman or Barbara Stanwyck, to keep her own appearance. But look how many stereotyped Lindas and Lanas and Anns are running around today on the Hollywood screen!

If centralization of authority is Hollywood's great fault, geophysical centralization is its original sin.

Hollywood's Reason for Being

Thirty years ago, Los Angeles provided sunshine and scenery for the primitive silent pictures. But today sunshine means almost nothing. Not long ago I watched, on a hot noon, an outdoor shot being made — with dozens of high-powered lights, reflected into the faces of Clark Gable and Jeanette MacDonald. Cloudy, foggy London produces pictures better photographed than the average of Hollywood pictures.

There is no artistic, professional, technical reason to justify Hollywood's maintenance as a film center. Nonetheless about 30,000 people live in and around Hollywood. In this golden concentration camp, their mental horizon is reduced to Hollywood Boulevard. Their blood becomes as sparkless as the orange juice they drink. Their spirits shrivel. The real world recedes from them. It is no malicious anecdote that on the day of Pearl Harbor, one leading film man meeting another unexpectedly at the Clover Club, exclaimed excitedly: "Did you hear it? What do you think? Metro dropped Joe and shelved his production. Isn't that terrific?"

Who could live in Newark if all the shoemakers had made Newark the center of the shoe industry? One would meet shoemakers and shoemakers, at breakfast, at luncheon, at dinner — hear no conversation at all except the very latest dope about toeless sandals. Who could live in a world which breathes and thinks and exists for nothing but shoes — SHOES — *SHOES!*

Yet that is not far from the case of those who live in Hollywood. On the street, in restaurants and clubs, on the movie lots and around the studios, at private parties and formal gatherings, there is one theme — leading and preponderant — the movies.

But not their evolution, not the deeper responsibilities of this revolutionary medium — but exclusively the gossip of an extravagant crowd, the aberrations of professional extroverts.

Having no art life of its own, Hollywood meekly accepts the emanations of New York. The Book-of-the-Month Club novel which will be purchased at 200 or 300 thousand dollars, would be promptly rejected — even at a price of 2 or 3 thousand dollars — if submitted directly to the studio. A Broadway play, even a mediocre one, will bring half a million dollars or more. The same script wouldn't even be considered before receiving the blessing of the New York drama critics.

Unaware of any problems above the level of Betty Grable's well-shaped knees, no wonder Hollywood becomes painfully disappointing to the world, and steadily loses its grip over the international audiences. Seemingly unaware of its fault or its sin, Hollywood is sharply conscious of its failure. As a consequence, it is just now in imminent danger of drowning in a vicious whirpool of fear.

The Mood of the Movies

The movie makers are afraid. They are afraid of anything new and sincere. They tremble in front of a New Jersey Congressman. With shaking hands, they open their mail. Any group or association, league or committee can scare the daylights out of them.

Frightened people, when approaching any new theme or subject, don't even try to develop the underlying significance of the characters or conflicts. They choose the old, safe, hollow, box-office-insured formulae. They are afraid.

Shivering, they sit around their warm swimming pools. Trembling they raise the stakes of their gin rummy games. Their constant search is for something to turn their troubled minds from their worries. The basic reason for their uneasiness never penetrates their brains.

They fail to grasp the awful truth that they, and their audiences, live in a crucial period and that the main problem is clear and simple: survival of civilization as we know it.

Is there any hope? Let me answer with an anecdote about another crisis.

$100,000 Worth of Indecision

Just about 20 years ago the "talkie" arrived to upset Hollywood's complacent illiteracy. The moguls summoned — among others — Ferenc Molnar, the world-famous Hungarian playwright. They hoped, presumably, he could inject some precious bloodplasm into the newborn talking pictures.

Three leading producers met Molnar at the Plaza Hotel in New York and made him the collective offer of $5,000 a week, guaranteed for 26 weeks, to go to Hollywood and write a screen play.

"Your offer is overwhelming!" said Molnar. "I'd love to make a hundred thousand dollars in such a short time. But I don't like to accept an offer when I don't know exactly what I am expected to do."

The three film magnates hesitated for a moment.

"It's simple, Mr. Molnar," said the first one. "Just come to Hollywood, imagine that you are at your working desk in Budapest and don't think about movies. Think you are writing a play, that's all. . . . "

Molnar pointed out that he didn't need to go to Hollywood to do that.

"My friend is wrong, Mr. Molnar!" said the second mogul. "Forget about play-writing — just write a nice human, simple story, with a happy ending . . . that's all we want. . . ."

Molnar still felt that the directive was not specific enough. He tried to explain how important it would be for him to know exactly what they wanted.

The third film magnate put an end to the long discussion. "My dear Mr. Molnar," he said bluntly. "If we knew what we wanted, we wouldn't be offering you $5,000 a week."

Molnar didn't go to Hollywood.

Maybe Hollywood, so long as it remains a centralized, insulated factory where originality succumbs to formulae, will never come alive.

There Is Another

CHINA

Essays and Articles for Chang Poling of Nankai

These non-political essays, written largely in tribute to the founder and head of Nankai University in Tientsin, place on record the story of the constructive elements that have been at work in China since the turn of the century.

Contributors: John Lossing Buck, J. B. Condliffe, Roger S. Greene, William E. Hocking, Arthur N. Holcombe, Edward H. Hume, Arthur W. Hummel, John E. Orchard, Dorothy J. Orchard, Hu Shih, J. Leighton Stuart, Harald M. Vinacke, and Quincy Wright.

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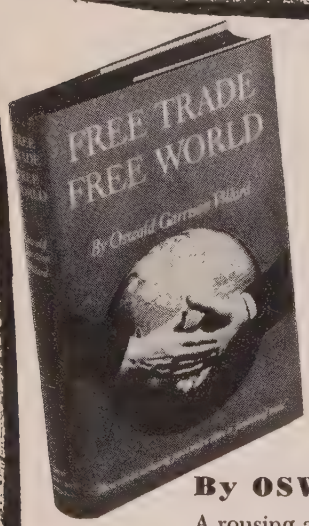

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Pearl Buck Looks at Another China

A NOVEL THAT WILL AROUSE CONTROVERSY — THE PASSIONATE CONFLICT OF EAST AND WEST ASIA

Peony
by Pearl S. Buck, New York, The John Day Company. $3.00.

In *Peony* Mrs. Buck presents a new aspect of the China she has made familiar to Western readers. This time she tells the story of a Jewish merchant family in a Chinese community of a hundred years ago. It is, as might be expected, a very readable story, rich in exotic color. It may be a shade too facile, too full of flash and glitter, but it is almost sure to have a wide popularity. I suspect, however, that Jews who are ardent in nationalism will not like it at all. For the story turns out to be (even if that were not its original intent) a thesis against Jewish separatism and for assimilation.

The family of the Merchant Ezra has been for four generations in China. During that time the Jewish community, once strong enough to erect a splendid synagogue, has dwindled to a poverty-stricken handful. Only one or two prosperous families still observe more or less strictly the laws and customs of their people.

Most of the Jews have been swallowed up in the generous tolerance of China. The very memorial tablets in the synagogue bear witness to a gradual change from the belief in a jealous God who has chosen one people to be His own. "Worship is to honor Heaven, and righteousness is to follow the ancestors, but the human mind has always existed before worship and righteousness" reads one. And another: "From the time of Abram . . . we Jews of China have spread the knowledge of God and in return we have received the knowledge of Confucius and Buddha and the Tao." A third: "Before the Great Void, we burn the fragrant incense, entirely forgetting its name or form."

The family of Ezra is one of those that have remained Jewish. Ezra himself is part Chinese by blood. To him China, not a distant, shadowy Palestine, is home. But his wife, Naomi, is strong in her awareness of her race and her religion. She sees it as a mission for herself and for her family to preserve the Jews in the midst of the heathen and ultimately to lead them out of exile.

To this end she tries to kill the Chinese in her son, David, in whom the easy-going tolerance of his father and the stern race-consciousness of his mother are at war. She tries to arrange a marriage for him with

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Leah, the beautiful daughter of the old Rabbi, who has been consecrated from infancy to her faith. It is through Peony, the bondmaid, who loves David beyond race or religion or herself, that Naomi fails. David marries a Chinese; his grandchildren will have forgotten Jehovah and their Jewish blood.

I fear that many people will think Mrs. Buck's book anti-Semitic. Some of her Chinese characters are a little too good to be true; the majority of her Jewish characters are not. The old Rabbi, gentle and good, is at the same time fiercely narrow. His son is a sordid wastrel and petty thief. His daughter, Leah, is hysterical and comes to a miserable fate. Naomi is a managing woman. Ezra and David, even, seem less attractive when the Jew in them is uppermost than when they are most Chinese.

But Mrs. Buck is not anti-Semitic. Her quarrel is what has always been her quarrel, not with Judaism, but with any religion that sees only one goodness, one road to salvation, one God. There is much common sense in her book — the theme that separatism finds survival hard in a tolerant community, the conclusion that the good (in Judaism as in all else) will survive, for "Nothing is lost. . . . Their spirit is born anew in every generation. They are no more, and yet they live forever."

However, few listen to commonsense any more, and it is very possible that *Peony* may furnish fuel for prejudices.

Which reminds me that this review says almost nothing of the heroine whose name it bears. I found her not very convincing.

Elizabeth Riefstahl

Our Partnership
by Beatrice Webb. New York, Longmans, $5.00.

If you are interested in what is going on in the world today and curious as to what happened in recent history, get a copy of "Our Partnership," a wonderful autobiography.

The reason for my enthusiasm is simple. I am an old Fabian. Many years ago I was a young Fabian and like all other young male Fabians I was deeply in love with Beatrice Webb. The regular meetings of the Fabian Society were for us an excuse to sit at the feet of this witty, and altogether delightful, prophetess of the new social order.

The work of "The Webbs" has always, and rightly, been associated with serious undertakings — reform of the Poor Laws, prevention of destitution, establishment of the London School of Economics. But the essential human quality that Beatrice and Sidney Webb brought to the problems they tackled is often underemphasized in reviews of their work. In addition to being socially conscious, they were socially minded, fond of people. They entertained and were entertained by the great and humble of their day. The diary sparkles with wit and wisdom and personal commentary — on Winston Churchill, Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells, Ramsay MacDonald and hundreds of equally famous folk. It is, however, more than a "Who's Who" of a very critical period. It is a social document of the greatest importance.

H. J. B. C.

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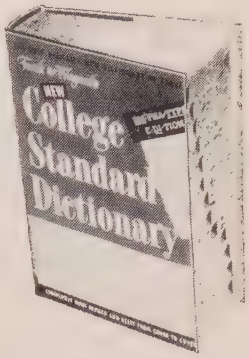

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On Active Service In Peace and War by Henry L. Stimson and McGeorge Bundy. New York, Harper & Brothers, $5.00.

Franklin Roosevelt might well have said: "After me, the deluge of memoirs." Of all the post-Roosevelt memoirs, only two impress this reviewer as worthy of the era and the man. The two books are *The Roosevelt I Knew* by Frances Perkins (New York, Viking, 1946), and Henry L. Stimson's *On Active Service*, written in the third person in collaboration with McGeorge Bundy.

It may be unfair to describe the Stimson memoirs as footnotes to the Roosevelt era. Mr. Stimson had a distinguished career as a soldier, politician and statesman long before Franklin Roosevelt brought about his resuscitation to second greatness. But this record of his life and service leaves one with the impression that Stimson reached his full stature only during what may be called his second public life.

In his years as Hoover's Secretary of State, Stimson was always honest, but not always ingenious. There are several failures, rather primitive ones, which one with active hindsight cannot but discover by reading between the lines of this report.

For example, Stimson's handling of American affairs with "Bolshevik Russia" was not always prudent or fortunate. His courageous stand in the Manchurian crisis, for which he received unstinted historical plaudits only on this side of the ocean, was not completely devoid of naivete. His best excuse is that he was piloting American foreign affairs through what he so aptly calls "the fog of isolationism."

His opposition to Philippine independence, a lifelong obsession, still persists. He writes: "On July 4, 1946, in accordance with plan, the Philippine Republic was established. For Stimson it as a date marked by both fear and hope. The fears were old ones. Could the Filipinos govern themselves, insuring to themselves the peace and individual liberty which had been enforced so long from above?"

His attitude toward the Navy often impresses one as that of an Army colonel rather than a practical statesman, especially since some of the facts he cites to support his contentions seem to be one-sided and arbitrarily chosen.

To this reviewer, the record of Stimson's remarkable service during World War II is what gives the memoirs their claim to real importance. Surrounded by "the best staff he ever had," and blessed with confidence in and the friendship and loyalty of his subordinates, he succeeded in gaining as head of the War Department that greatness which was denied his colleague, Frank Knox, as head of the Navy.

A close and objective scrutiny of his revelations shows that it was by humility and warmth of leadership, human rather than intellectual virtues, that Stimson carved out for himself his enviable success. Actually, he admits, the Secretary of War did not play any direct part in the "hand ling of Pacific strategy." It is deeply disturbing to learn that the intelligence which he received and on which much of his wartime policy was based, was frequently inadequate, misrepresented to him or misunderstood by him. The result was that the advice he was able to give President Roosevelt was not always the best, though it might be unfair to suggest that it was at any time detrimental to US interests.

Stimson's overwhelming strength, clearly emerging from his book, is his unique ability to bridge generations. The 40 years which elapsed between his appointment as U. S. Attorney in the Southern District of New York and his final departure from the Truman Cabinet as Secretary of War have given his spirit the tingling qualities good wine acquires as it ages. This great man of ancient vintage appears in his book as a noble teacher of another generation that seems old, cynical and worn by comparison.

Ladislas Farago

The Journals of André Gide, Vol. II. Translated and Annoted by Justin O'Brian. New York, Knopf. $6.

There are people who are bored with everything but literature. For them the publication of Justin O'Brian's classical translation of the second volume of Gide's journals is a major event for several reasons. The most important is that few authors have watched their own thoughts, impulses, reflexes, desires, errors, hesitations with more lasting curiosity and discernment.

Gide's entire work reflects the various stages of his effort to understand himself. The pages of his journals offer a fascinating guide to the successive labyrinths of spiritual difficulties through which he finds his way only after agonizing doubts.

The journals explain much of the secret of Gide's most characteristic quality: an unusual fusion of passion and lucidity, of lyricism and detachment. The secret is his ability to create out of his uncertainty a seemingly solid philosophy of life. The philosophy changes — now near-anarchy, now near-Catholicism — but throughout there is a constant element: Gide's need to dominate by a supreme intellectual effort the emotional disorder that threatens to destroy his lucidity.

His unusual ability to be at once ecstatically individual and mathematically reasonable explains the intriguing quality of Gide's work, and his rare position midway between romantic and classic.

There is no more individual artist in this century than André Gide, no author of greater independence from traditional forms. By reflecting his ambivalence in great and small matters, the Journals offer to the reader an extraordinary spiritual adventure.

T. K.

World Words

by W. Cabell Greet, New York, Columbia University Press, $6.75.

Originally prepared for Columbia Broadcasting Co. announcers, this 608 page volume has been enlarged to include pronunciations for approximately 25,000 proper names from *Aa*, a river in the Netherlands, to *Zywiec*, a town in Poland. In an increasingly internationally minded world this volume is valuable not only to radio announcers, but to the interested listeners — and readers.

P. M. S.

WORLD FILES

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Convention Setting Up ERP

MR. BEVIN SIGNS FIRST . . . M. BIDAULT SIGNS SECOND

April 18, Paris. Representatives of the 16 powers participating in the European Recovery Program sign the following documents:

1. Resolution of the Committee of European Economic Co-operation on the functions of the Organization for European Economic Co-operation.
2. Resolution of Committee of European Economic Co-operation on relations between the organization and US Special Representative.
3. Convention for European Economic Co-operation. (104:48)

IRAN NOTE REJECTS MOSCOW PROTESTS

April 1, Teheran. Note rejects Moscow protests — declares that the USSR repeatedly violated Russo-Iranian Treaty of Friendship of 1921, and accuses the Soviets of unwarranted interference in Iran's internal affairs, stating that as a sovereign state Iran may consult with anyone and/or make agreements with another state. (87:48)

RAIL AND AIR DISPUTES BETWEEN USSR AND WESTERN POWERS

Berlin: April 1. Soviet order restricts rail traffic into and out of Berlin, and declares all traffic into and out of city is subject to inspection. (88a:48)

April 1. USMG rejects Soviet demand and states that it is prepared "for train commanders to give proper documentation, but we cannot permit entry into our trains as a new procedure." (88b:48)

April 11. The US and UK, at the request of the Soviet Government, consent to give up two emergency aid stations on the road to Berlin, but indicate that further negotiations would take place in regard to removing US soldiers who patrol roads to assist broken-down vehicles. (88c:48)

April 19. British Foreign Minister Bevin states that the Soviet Government should be requested to pay compensation for the loss of a British passenger airplane over Berlin on April 5 due to a collision with a Yak (USSR) fighter plane, and that the fault lay with the Yak. (88d:48)

April 19. A report by Marshal V. D. Sokolovsky, the USSR Commander in Berlin, states that the Berlin Air Center had not been notified that the British passenger plane would be in the air at the time of the crash. (88e:48)

April 21. British establish regulations (for safety purposes) on air routes over their occupation zone over which Eastern European aircraft may fly. (88f:48)

April 24. Gen. Clay, USMG Commander declares that US planes would continue to fly into and out of Berlin, and that all he knew of any Soviet regulations to the contrary was what he read in the newspapers. He said: "We will abide by the quadripartite agreement and we will continue to use the air corridor." (88g:48)

April 28. British, with consent of the US, request a conference with USSR representatives to straighten out traffic situation in Berlin. (88h:48)

Vienna: April 7. USSR requests removal of US radio station from Vienna, on grounds that there were insufficient soldiers to guard it. US denied that this was so. (89a:48)

April 11. Soviet occupation authorities declare that "grey pass" issued by British was insufficient, and that special identification credentials were required to effect entry into Vienna. British protest. (89b:48)

April 16. Soviet commander in Vienna notifies British that civilian aircraft are to stop using Schwechat airport. (89c:48)

April 17. USSR permitted US and British military and civilian passengers to proceed unimpeded into Vienna. (89d:48)

April 28. (Washington). Secretary of State Marshall states that the State Department is convinced that the US has the agreed right to the use of the airport at Tulln, and that Soviet interference into this might cast suspicion on the Soviet's good faith. (89e:48)

ARGENTINE-CUBAN CONTRACT

April 2, Havana. 1. Argentine Government given right to utilize free port of Matanzas, and construct refrigerating plants by Matanzas Port Authorities.

2. Cuban-Argentine Antilles Bank organized, with a capital of $5,000,000, and a purpose of development of industrial and commercial activities between both countries. (90:48)

FRENCH NOTE TO USSR

April 6, Paris. In reply to Soviet note of March 6th protesting London meeting of France, US and Great Britain, Bidault wrote: "I find in your note the surprising assertion that France is conforming to an American plan regarding Europe and is following a policy inspired by warmongers in France as well as the US and Britain. I purely and simply reject that affirmation, which is as untrue as it is tendentious.

"It is patent that France desires only peace and that its entire policy has been for a pacific settlement of the problems born of the war." (91:48) (See World Files 69:48, May, 1948)

SOVIET-FINISH TREATY

April 6, Moscow. 1. "In the event of Finland's or the Soviet Union's, across the territory of Finland, becoming objects of military aggression on the part of Germany or another state allied with her, Finland, loyal to her duty as an independent state, will fight to rebuff agression. In that event,

Finland will send all the forces at her disposal to defend the integrity of her territory on land, sea and in the air, acting within the boundaries of her frontiers, in the present treaty, with the assistance, in the event of necessity, of the Soviet Union or together with it.

"In the above case, the Soviet Union will render Finland necessary assistance, on the rendering of which the parties will reach mutual agreement."

2. In the event of the attack discussed in the above article both parties will consult.

3. They will "act in the spirit of co-operation and friendship for the purpose of further development and consolidation of economic and cultural relations between the USSR and Finland."

4. Pledge themselves "mutual respect of state sovereignty and independence as well as non-interference in the internal affairs of the other state . . . in accord with the principles of the United Nations organization."

5. Treaty to last for 10 years, renewable every five years until one of the parties "gives written notice one year prior to termination of the current five year period." (92:48)

NOTE EXCHANGE — RE: TRIESTE US, UK AND YUGOSLAVIA,

US and UK Notes

April 7, London and Washington. Protested deliberate and aggressive assaults by Yugoslav forces on British forces. (93a:48)

Yugoslav Note

April 11, Belgrade. Rejects protest blaming incidents on "control organs of the Allied Military Governments." (93b:48)

YUGOSLAV PROTESTS AMERICAN PLANES

April 10, Belgrade. Yugoslavian note to US protests "more and more frequent violations of Yugoslav air space by American aircraft." (94:48)

GUATEMALA AND ARGENTINA MAKE DEMANDS

April 7, Bogota. Respectively demand the return of British Honduras and the Falkland Islands from Britain. (95:48)

SOVIET NOTE TO CANADA

April 8, Ottawa. Advises Canada that Lithuania is a part of the USSR by "the sovereign will of the Lithuanian people." (96:48)

USSR PROTEST TO IRAN

April 8, Teheran. Note suggests that the Iranian government halt "libelous and bellicose" criticisms of the Soviets appearing in Iranian newspapers. (97:48)

NOTES TO USSR RE: TRIESTE

April 9, Washington. 1. Refers to note of March 20, 1948, in "which it was proposed that the Soviet Government agree to early consideration, jointly with the Governments of the UK, France and Italy of the negotiation of a protocol to the treaty of peace with Italy to provide for the return of the Free Territory of Trieste to Italian sovereignty . . . "

2. "The Italian Government has now replied favorably, and should the Soviet Government also look with favor on the proposal, it is the view of the US Government that a preliminary meeting of representatives of the powers principally concerned might be convened in Paris early in May to negotiate a draft of the necessary protocol to the Italian treaty."

Note: Similar notes were simultaneously addressed by the British and French Governments to the USSR. (98:48)

SOVIET REPLY

April 13, Moscow. In reply to the above notes the Soviet Government called attention "to the fact that the peace treaty with Italy, as with other states that participated in the war, was prepared by the council of Foreign Ministers and examined in detail at the Paris conference, with the participation of 21 states, which subsequently signed and ratified it, and that it came into force only a few months ago.

"Hence, it stands to reason that the proposal to decide the question of a revision of the peace treaty with Italy in respect to one or the other of its parts by convening private conferences is regarded by the Soviet Government as unacceptable and as violating the elementary principles of democracy." (99:48)

YUGOSLAV BAN ON BORDER VISITS

April 14, Belgrade. Circular letter from Ministry of Foreign Affairs to embassies and ministries declaring that the Yugoslav-Greek frontier was off limits to all travel for a depth of 60 miles. (100:48)

IRAN CLAIMS BAHREIN ISLES

April 15, Teheran. Unanimous vote by Majlis (Parliament) to assert Iranian sovereignty over Bahreins in Persian Gulf. (101:48)

Note: The Bahreins are now under the British.

HUNGARIAN PROTEST TO US

April 16, Budapest. Foreign Minister Erik Molnar protests the expulsion of two Hungarian missions from the US zone of Germany as a violation of the peace treaty.

Note: Gen. Lucius Clay, American commander expelled the missions in retaliation for what US officials said was maltreatment of US personnel and looting of an American repatriation train in Hungary. Dr. Molnar said that the US soldiers had no Hungarian visas. (102:48)

FIVE POWERS CREATE STANDING MILITARY ORGANIZATION

April 17, Paris. 1. Standing military committee organized by Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg, with headquarters at London.

2. The Foreign Ministers of these countries to meet whenever necessary, and at least once every three months. (103:48)

ANGLO-FRENCH AGREEMENT

April 19, Paris. Declared that Norway must rights in the use of British and French air bases to the RAF and French Air Force planes. (105:48)

STATEMENT BY NORWEGIAN FOREIGN MINISTER

April 19, Oslo. Declared that Norway must expand her economic relations with Russia and other countries of East Europe, but that she would not accept any Russian proposal for a treaty of military aid. (106:48)

CHINESE RESOLUTION RE: USSR

April 21, Nanking. 1. National Assembly resolves to ask Government to urge USSR to implement 1945 treaty of friendship and alliance with China and restore the machinery taken by her from Manchuria during Soviet occupation, and that in the event Russian "procrastinated" that the matter be brought before the UN.

2. Calls for a Conference of East Asia to combat communism and promote economic co-operation.

3. Calls for abrogation of Sino-Soviet aviation agreement in respect to the northwest border province of Sinkiang. (107:48)

YUGOSLAVIA LIMITS ENTRY AND EXIT

April 28, Belgrade. Private ownership of inministries were informed by the Foreign Ministry that entry into and exit from Yugoslavia would be confined to a specific number of frontier stations and ports, and that deviations would not be permitted. (108:48)

BULGARIAN-CZECHOSLOVAK TREATY

April 23, Prague. Twenty-year alliance of mutual defense in case of German aggression or by any power allied directly or indirectly with Germany. (109:48)

UN BALKAN COMMITTEE NOTE TO ALBANIA

April 23, Lake Success. Complained that Albania refused to co-operate, and commented: "This attitude of the Albanian Government with respect to decisions of the General Assembly of the UN and of its legally constituted organs is difficult to reconcile with the desire of the Albanian Government to become a member of the UN." (110:48)

RUMANIAN NOTE TO GREECE

April 22, Athens. Declared Greeks were cruelly repressing Rumanians with the intention of exterminating them. (111:48)

YUGOSLAVIA COMPLETES NATIONALIZATION

April 28, Belgrade. Private ownership of industry completely wiped out by vote of parliament. (112:48)

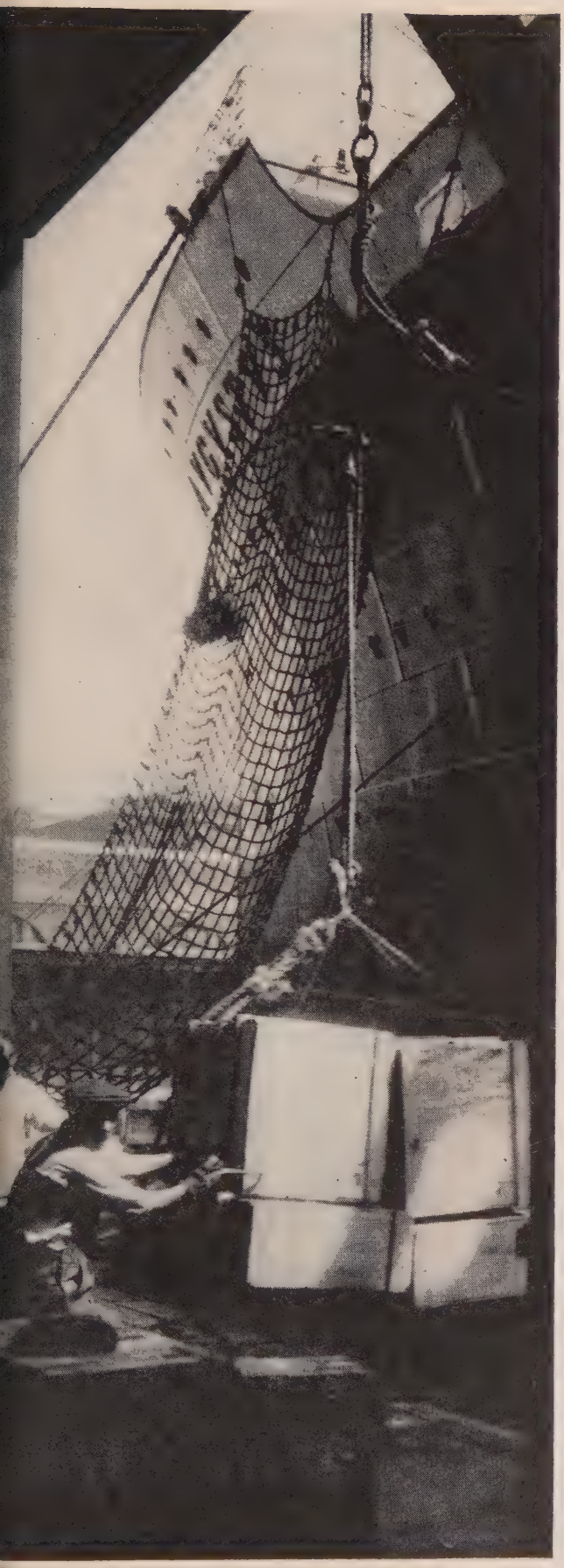
FINANCIAL AGREEMENT OF FIVE POWERS

April 30, Brussels. Finance Ministers of Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg agree on a comprehensive realignment of their economies and a method of settling their mutual indebtedness within the framework of ERP. (113:48)

US REJECTS YUGOSLAV PROTEST

April 17, Washington. Yugoslav protest regarding a speech made by Senator Styles Bridges recommending that the US encourage underground activities in countries within the Soviet orbit, rejected by US State Department, disclaiming such statements as a subject for representations by foreign governments. (114:48)

CLAYTON SPEAKS HIS MIND ON WORLD TRADE
WHEAT IS THE BRIGHT SPOT
WHAT AMERICAN LABOR THINKS OF THE SYSTEM



World Traders Push Out Frontiers Of World Peace

Ever since he was named Assistant Secretary of State in 1944, William Lockhart Clayton (see next page) has been applying to government the knowledge acquired as a businessman in a rough realistic world. He has come to typify an increasing number of top business executives in public service; a list that includes Secretary of Defense Forrestal; W. Averell Harriman, new ECA ambassador-at-large; Paul G. Hoffman, ECA head; Wayne Chatfield Taylor, Hoffman's director of operations and many more.

This whole development dramatizes two crucial facts: (1) that emphasis in global affairs has in our time shifted away from the diplomatic and political to the economic; from concern with the inviolate boundary line to the efficient assembly line and techniques for enlarging trade; (2) that the law-making and civil service branches of government are sharing authority, as never before, with men experienced in business planning and management.

The Editors of UN WORLD have long recognized this shift in influence and power. This magazine has served as the medium through which Messrs. Harriman, Hoffman and others of like stature have expressed their personal thinking on momentous questions of policy.

In order to interpret world problems more incisively in their economic, as well as in their political aspects, the UNW with this issue is establishing a new expanded World Business Department.

It is designed to furnish (1) background perspective on changing conditions in world finance, industry, commerce, labor and agriculture; (2) authoritative analyses of world economic trends which increasingly form the basis for important business decisions; (3) dependable guidance for government-business dealings at home and abroad.

LOADING in New York. The ship's name, Augustus, identifies her as an Italian freighter. Shoes and seeds are in the crates. Italy will send back autos, textiles, some olive oil to America.

Why You Can't be for the Marshall Plan And Against Reciprocal Trade and the ITO

BY WILLIAM L. CLAYTON
Former Assistant Secretary of State and now head of the US delegation to the ITO

EDITOR'S NOTE: Henry L. Stimson's axiom that "foreign policy is now our primary domestic concern" has already acquired the force of folklore. The air is filled with "one world" platitudes that bounce and skim over the surface of things. The lip-service given to the influence of foreign trade upon the American scene is less an evidence of economic insight than a tribute to our propensity to wear the new look, even if we don't like it.

Yet beneath this *Bolero*-like repetition on the theme of "We and They" is the profound reality of global interdependence. And businessmen who by their own jobs are compelled to put general ideas to the acid test of specific action, are finding out that prosperity, like peace, is indivisible.

This realization is rooted in their own experience with world markets, world money, and world management. They see that no one nation can flourish for any length of time while others are plagued by privation. From the standpoint of America's adventure in world leadership, this awareness is quite as important as our new "average" of around 18 billions a year in exports which crystallized it, and sharpened it into a new working creed.

It is an awareness confirmed and underlined by economic history during the past 135 years. As far back as the Napeolonic Wars, observers (for the most parts unheeded) pointed out the international character of business cycles.

In 1815, as Willard Thorp has recently reminded us, the tremendous war boom and its equally tremendous bust was felt not only by France and Britain but also by the prideful young republic across the Atlantic. Never since that year has there been a major depression that was not, soon or late, international. This was true in 1837, '47, '57, '73, '82 and '90.

With the century's turn, the connection between prosperity and depression in the industrialized nations was made even clearer by the panic of 1907, the recessions of 1913 and 1920, and the collapse of Black October, 1929.

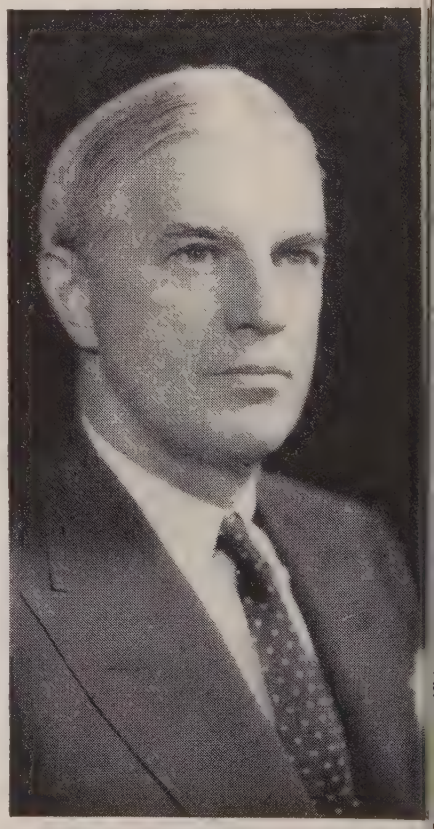
When President Hoover insisted that this last disaster was a result of world-wide economic conditions, he was unassailably right.

The current conviction of American business leaders that ever-larger overseas trade is an overwhelming necessity for our own economic health marks the triumph of internationalist fact-facing over isolationist fantasy. Above all, American businessmen have learned that a country's right to buy and to sell, to export and import, on equal terms with another country, is the economic aspect of political democracy, raised to a world level.

Foreign trade policy is frequently described by Americans as a two-way street. But this idea unduly curtails its scope. Two-sided, or bi-lateral, trade is good; but many-sided or multi-lateral trade is better. To promote both types as the indispensable preface to the world's economic regeneration, the US has given impetus to three interblended movements — the European Recovery Program, the International Trade Organization (See UNW, May), and the strengthening of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements which date from 1934.

These three are not separate undertakings. Actually they rise and fall together; if we cut one the other two bleed. All have the same objective as Mr. Clayton in the following article points out.

THE AUTHOR



WORLD TRADER. Mr. Clayton started business life as a $17-a-week clerk, entered government as world's top cotton trader

THE UNITED STATES, as one of the nations seeking to build the framework of lasting peace, has given impetus to three movements designed to increase world trade: the European Recovery Program, the International Trade Organization and extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements.

These are frequently considered separately. Yet, in their mutual objective of world economic recovery, they are closely inter-related. They are the three major elements of a program for worldwide economic progress. Taken together, they represent a principal objective in the economic foreign policy of the US.

The basic tenet of that policy is to promote, through co-operative action with other countries, world economic prosperity in which trade can move between nations relatively free of artificial restrictions.

This policy is based on the realization that prosperity in other countries is essential to the maintenance of prosperity in our own and on the equally important consideration that freedom of thought, of speech and of worship cannot thrive in penury.

Where the US Stands

The United States Government has sponsored the creation and is participating in the operation of such international bodies as the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Bank and the International Fund.

It has granted direct financial and relief assistance to Great Britain, Greece and other countries. Lastly, the United States has taken a leading role in the creation of the European Recovery Program and the International Trade Organization. Further renewal of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements is now before Congress.

Both ERP and renewal of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements are designed for immediate operation, with tangible results due in a comparatively short time. No less important, however, is ITO, the long-range arm of world co-operation in which member states are pledged to reduce tariffs and eliminate trade barriers.

The European Recovery Program has provided the world a concrete example of the power of international economic co-operation. Through it, 16 nations of western Europe — plus western Germany — have undertaken a co-operative endeavor to increase their production, stabilize their financial structure and bring about a greater volume of trade among nations and between themselves than existed even in prewar years.

European recovery — which, with American assistance, is the objective of ERP — will help to eliminate many of the restrictions on trade which are the results of financial instability and extreme scarcity. It will restore international commerce in an area which before the war accounted for nearly one-half of the world's trade and owned nearly two-thirds of the world's shipping.

For the United States, economic recovery in Europe will mean that American dollar credits will become less necessary. It will mean an increased flow of goods from Europe on which the United States has been and continues to be dependent. And it will mean a larger and more stable market for our farms and factories.

Along with the European Recovery Program, renewal of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act stands as one of the most important immediate objectives of the United States economic foreign policy. The Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act has been an established policy since 1934.

The Act has had several beneficial results. In exchange for every concession the United States has made, other countries have also made concessions in their tariffs on their imports from the US.

In addition, the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act has had the salutary effect of causing many nations to negotiate additional tariff concessions among themselves when the authority is used for simultaneous negotiations among several participants.

Only by an extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act will the European Recovery Program have its full effect in stimulating trade both among the participating nations and between the participating and non-participating countries.

Similarly, only by renewal of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act will the United States and other countries be able to carry out effectively the very important provision in the ITO for continuous negotiation on tariff reductions.

The Charter of the ITO embodies the principles long advocated by the United States and other democracies which would lead to a great expansion in the production, distribution and consumption of goods throughout the world and thus contribute to rising standards of living everywhere.

It should be observed, however, that the success of ITO will depend to a considerable degree on the success of the European Recovery Program. There is no conflict between them. They complement each other.

ERP is designed to bring about recovery in the shortest possible time. ITO is principally concerned with long-range policies which the countries of Europe and elsewhere must adopt if they are to continue to stand on their own feet.

No Restrictive Charter

Both are closely interrelated with the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, under which the United States and other nations have steadily pursued a policy of tariff liberalization.

Nothing in the ITO Charter precludes regional agreements among trading nations. Already in western Europe three nations — Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg — have joined in a customs union for the purpose of applying "identical rates of duty to imports of merchandise." The precedent is a good one.

The grave conditions in international events today have stimulated economic alliances between nations whose economics are closely connected. The 16-nation Committee of European Economic Co-operation, which met in Paris to draw up the blueprints of ERP, is one such example. Italy and France are actively negotiating for a customs union. So are the Scandinavian countries. The Central American Republics are at work on a plan of political and economic union.

Far from reducing the effectiveness

RALPH WALDO EMERSON:
"The genius of the country has marked out our true policy — opportunity. Opportunity of civil rights, of education, of personal power and not less of wealth; doors wide open. If I could have it, free trade with all the world without toll or custom houses."

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN:
"It were to be wished that commerce were as free between all nations of the world as it is between the several counties of England. . . . These counties do not ruin one another by trade; and neither would the nations."

of ITO, these regional agreements will actually strengthen it. They make for an increase of trade across borders and a consequent expansion of employment. In other words, the ITO thus will gain a windfall in the form of more prosperous members with more goods to export and more money with which to pay for imports.

These efforts at world economic co-operation, in which the United States is playing a leading role, will mean a higher standard of living for the individual American.

This applies with equal force to the farmer, industralist and worker. One reason our national income rose from $165 billion in 1946 to more than $200 billion last year, was that the demand for foreign products was greater than ever.

In 1947 the American farmer sent food overseas at the rate of 271 pounds for every man, woman and child in the US. In meeting the needs of foreign and domestic customers, our gross farm income climbed to a new high of $29,700,000,000.

But to maintain this high output, our farmers also need imports. Chilean nitrate helps nourish American soil. The self-binder uses twine made of Mexican sisal. Spinach, parsnip, carrot, turnip and radish seed come from the Netherlands.

The American steel industry relies on manganese from the Gold Coast and elsewhere. In that industry, 20 separate items brought in from 60 countries are used in various stages.

These and countless other imports are necessary to maintain our high production level in the United States, to keep our factories and farms in operation and to allow for expansion of employment opportunities.

Labor would reap the benefits of high production in the form of a stabilized economy in which salary checks would go further. The farmer would find stabilized and assured markets, at home and abroad, for the products he raises and sells.

These gains would accrue, however, only under favorable trade conditions in which goods of all would be available to all. Excessive tarif and barriers to the free flow of com merce would reduce the effectivene of any plan undertaken to achiev world trade expansion.

Therein lies the strength of th three movements — the European R covery Program, Reciprocal Trad Agreement Act and Internation Trade Organization — with which th United States has become closel identified. Individually and collectiv ly, they seek to join participating n tions in common pledges for remov or reduction of such barriers, so ri ing standards of living can truly b come world-wide in scope.

The struggle for trade, then, more than that. It is the struggle f freedom itself. Many of the natio which have joined in ERP and IT are engaged today in a battle for i dependence. They can scarcely expected to resist alien ideologi from without if they must simultan ously battle hunger from within. N tions which believe in freedom mu come closer together economically well as politically.

ABC's of RTA and ITO *(Reciprocal Trade Agreements and International Trade Organizatio*

What Are the Reciprocal Trade Agreements?

They are methods set up by national law passed by the US Congress in 1934 to enlarge world trade by relaxing rigid tariffs and similar hindrances to exchange of goods among nations. Under terms of the RTA law, Congress endows the executive branch of the government with limited authority to negotiate, revise and adjust tariffs.

Doesn't the ERP Replace the RTA?

No. RTA is a tool that will assist European Co-operation Administration (ECA) to facilitate and quicken interchange of commodities among all nations participating in the ERP; this is a basic aim written into the act that brought the ERP into existence.

Hasn't the US Agreements With All ERP Nations?

No. They have not yet been negotiated with Austria, Denmark, Greece, Italy, Ireland, Portugal, Western Germany. Trade agreements are necessary to enable these nations to export to the US, and thus deliver on their commitments to the US under terms of ERP. RTA is the only existing means by which the US can work out these arrangements.

Do Trade Agreements Drain the US of Its Natural Resources?

No. On the contrary, they help to safeguard against depletion of many strategic materials such as manganese, tin, rubber, lead, required for US military security.

Doesn't the RTA Harm US Business?

No. Ever since the Reciprocal Trade Act was passed years ago, there have been outcries that certain US indu trial, farming and labor interests were being menaced "cheap foreign competition." No proof backed up su claims sufficiently to prevent bi-partisan majorities Congress from extending the Act in succeeding Congress

But Where Does the ITO Come In?

The Charter of the International Trade Organization w signed by delegates from 53 nations at Havana in Ap 1948. But this ITO charter must be approved by Congre and, even so, will not be fully effective until 195 Meanwhile, the RTA will be needed (1) to activate t provisions of the ITO Charter if and when okayed by Co gress; (2) to have ready a groundwork for future tra agreements if the ITO fails to pass.

But Hasn't the ITO Already Changed Tariffs?

No, but its forerunner, the "General Agreement on Tari and Trade," signed at Geneva on October 30, 1947, mark an advance in overcoming barriers to world tra Under the terms of the GATT, biggest multilateral tra pact in history, 23 countries responsible for 70 per cent international commerce granted concessions to each oth on commodities which in pre-war days accounted for per cent of all global trade. From the 22 other countri the US gained tariff reductions on items worth ½ billi dollars; from the US, they gained similar reductions items worth ½ billion dollars, on quid-pro-quo basis.

THIS GADGET with amoeba-like sponge rubber gullet, will wash glasses of any size or shape. Speed: 1,000 glasses per hour.

The British Fair

Ever since London was a village with a market place for simple barter, the trade fair has been symbol and standby for British business. Last month some 70 thousand visitors from 60 nations trudged past 25 miles of booths at the British Industries Trade Fair held simultaneously in London and Birmingham.

Exhibits dramatized (1) the sense of urgency behind Britain's all-out export drive and (2) its adoption of an American approach toward labor-saving devices once derided as gadgetry.

In addition to a machine to wash and dry 1,000 glasses an hour (above) the Fair featured:

- A plastic table on which cigarettes can be stubbed-out without leaving a mark.
- A lighter to wear on the wrist.
- An "accordian" cocktail bar that stretches out from 2 1/2 to 15 square feet and contains shelves and racks for 50 glasses, 75 bottles, automatic liquor pourers, a wine-bin and wash-up sink.
- A "rocking" razor that sharpens itself, operates without soap, water or electricity and is especially designed to make possible shaving on a train, in an automobile, or in bed.

WU's Marjolin

A slim urbane sharp-minded Frenchman, whose hobby is the study of the US labor movement, has been appointed Secretary-General of the Western Union, one of the key posts in world economic recovery. He is 37-year-old Robert Marjolin, protege of both the late Charles Rist, France's economic elder statesman, and of the very much alive Harold D. Lasswell, American social scientist who interprets political economy with a Freudian flourish.

Marjolin's own thinking shows the effect of these two major influences: like Rist he is "advanced" in economics but not doctrinaire; like Lasswell, he believes that modern psychology illumines economic decisions which today are likely to be political decisions as well. His selection underscores the attempt of Western Union members to work out fresh non-traditional solutions to pressing economic problems.

Marjolin was economic adviser to De Gaulle when the Free French movement was directed from London. In 1944 he served as chief of a French purchasing mission to the US, and the following year was in charge of foreign trade for the Ministry of Economic Affairs. He leaves the position of chief brain-truster to Monnet, to undertake the modernization and integration of Western European industry. The promotion is a case of the best man suddenly becoming the bride-groom.

Paris-born, Marjolin combines American initiative with Gallic skepticism. He has no illusions about the obstructions to his task but is determined to do it anyway.

"My pessismism of a year ago," he told a UNW correspondent in Paris, "is gradually turning into sober optimism. The best sign for the success of our efforts is the new mood in Western Europe that 'God helps those who help themselves.' "

Why Ibn Saud Wants To Be Paid In Hard Gold

See Next Page

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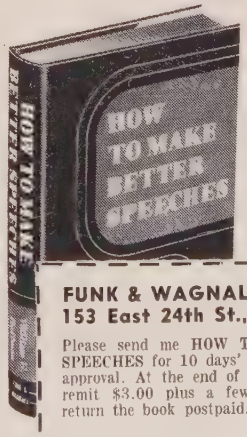
COVERS ALL SIDES

There is a full section on voice and delivery, material on radio, roundtable, acting chairman, conducting business meetings, humor and how to tell a story. Each type of speech is illustrated with examples. The author has spent many years successfully teaching public speaking .

HOW TO MAKE BETTER SPEECHES

by William C. Hoffman

Professor of English and Public Speaking
Boston University
College of Business Administration



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IBN SAUD TELLS ARAMCO

'Gold on the Barrel Head

Arab king shows growing concern over dollar stability

Swirling up like a desert monsoon, an unexpected crisis threatens the hitherto serene relations of Saudia Arabia and Aramco. This crisis doesn't concern Palestine but rather the method by which King Ibn Saud's oil royalties will henceforth be paid.

Alarmed by unsettled world conditions, unsure of the dollar's future, Ibn Saud now insists that all his oil revenues — which will average nearly $60,000 a day through 1948, be paid not in dollars nor by check, but in gold — in tangible tactile gold. He contends that his contract with Aramco stipulates payment in gold.

Aramco is anxious to continue its present practice of dollar payment lest it be compelled to buy annually upwards of $20 million worth of gold in global markets, an activity that would require specialists, elaborate bookkeeping, even more elaborate negotiations with various governments.

Most likely sources of raw gold would be Soviet Russia and South Africa, which produce bar gold for the world market. In view of the strategic significance of Aramco's concession, however, its needs might conceivably be filled from US stocks.

To avoid such costly complications, Aramco has in effect offered to raise Ibn Saud's royalty, which at the moment is 4 shillings on each barrel of oil made ready for export.

But Ibn Saud is adamant, hinting that, if Aramco remains balky, he will take his case before the International Court of Justice at The Hague. He wants to return to the way he was reimbursed 15 years ago when his first payment of £30,000 in gold was counted out sovereign by sovereign by his Finance Minister in the vaults of the Netherlands Trading Society in Jidda.

It is this vision of visible gold which has implanted itself in Ibn Saud's mind as a guarantee of safety in an unsafe world. For he well remembers that back in 1933 it was gold which rescued from insolvency his peninsular empire of 1 million square miles and 10 million people.

Before Aramco pioneered the movement of American capital into Ibn Saud's realm, his economic prospects were bleak to the point of blankness. Search for new water sources had failed, dooming Ibn Saud's high hope that irrigation projects would enable his Brotherhood of Desert Farmers to raise more wheat, rye, corn.

Saudia's chief exports of camels to Egypt and horses to India had lined as cars and trucks supers both.

Income from selling dates, g hides and barley abroad hardly ficed to pay the King's handfu bureaucrats.

To ease his financial wor Aramco advanced Ibn Saud $20 lions against future oil output du the late 1930's. To insure a source of oil in time of war, the government poured an additi $60,000,000 into Ibn Saud's exche between 1942-45, in the form credits, lend-lease goods, and si bullion from which he mints his c

Great Britain crashed through

THE TEN-YEAR-BUTTON CEREMONY IN THE DESERT

THREE VICE-PRESIDENTS honor 11 employees. James Terry Duce, in helmet Aramco's best-known executive. Vice-President J. MacPherson is at left and Fl Ohliger, the third, is pinning a 10-year-service button on an Arab with white whisk

$51,000,000 in a last futile effort to maintain its foothold in Saudian oil production during the same period.

Even as late as 1942, after Aramco had been developing Ibn Saud's oil wells for eight years, their net yield was less than 10,000 barrels a day. Today that yield had been stepped up to nearly 250,000, a 25 fold increase.

What was for Aramco in 1933 a gamble on a single prospector's scattered surveys, has become for Ibn Saud a bonanza de luxe. In 1947 his "take" was $17 million. It will probably go up to $50 million by 1952.

The prospect of converting this amount of royalty into solid gold to meet Ibn Saud's demand, arouses no rapture among the oil diplomats, executives and technicians of Aramco's high command. Yet there is little they can do if Ibn Saud refuses.

Despite the enormous benefits he has gained from the influx of foreign capital, private and public; despite assurances by Aramco officials that theirs is a nice solvent business and the American dollar the symbol of sound currency, Ibn Saud is unconvinced. He clings to the memory of the bright gold pieces that his Finance Minister clinked so reassuringly onto the counting table 15 years ago.

The Shorter Arrows In Ibn Saud's Quiver

Aside from oil, Saudi Arabia is anxious to develop a mineral industry. Mining has been unknown in that region since the days of King Solomon whose fabulous gold mines are thought to be located in an area Saudians call "*Mahab Dhabab*" or "Cradle of Gold."

The gold concession has been granted to an Anglo-American syndicate, whose operations are retarded by certain gold-diggers in the King's own entourage.

Along other fronts, however, Saudi-Arabia is moving rapidly into an unprecedented era of economic expansion. Foreign capital and technicians are in demand to stimulate exports of fruit, grain and cattle products.

These operations are conducted through Sheikh Yusuf Yaseen, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, the Netherlands Trading Society, the Egyptian Bank Misr, all located in Jidda. Local traders with international contacts include Gellatly Hankey Co., and the firms of Ali Reza Zainal, Fazid el Arabi and the Ajaji Brothers.

A Report to Readers

UNITED NATIONS WORLD is now well started on its second year of operation. In our First Anniversary Number you have already read the many congratulations about our first year's work from such regular readers as Trygve Lie, Warren R. Austin, Mackenzie King, Henri Laugier and scores of others. Editorially, UN WORLD has already made its mark, and is one of the most widely quoted periodicals in the world. Our group of 12,000 governmental subscribers includes virtually every leading statesman in the world. Total circulation has increased from 50,000 to more than 85,000.

On the business side, UN WORLD has made good progress. Advertising — required in abundance by any magazine to balance its budget — is always a struggle for any new publication. Yet our pages carried the advertising of more than 100 concerns last year and many additional advertisers are scheduled.

Most significant news of the month is the addition of an important group of new stockholders who are enthusiastic about UN WORLD's unique place in the publishing world, and who have confidence in its future.

Some of these stockholders are:

T. W. Phillips, Jr., President, T. W. Phillips Gas & Oil Co., Butler, Penna.
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Beatrice Straight Dolivet, New York, N. Y.
and Egbert White, Eliot D. Pratt, Vernon Pope of the UN WORLD staff.

Recent additions to the working staff have been: Eliot D. Pratt, as Vice-Chairman of the Editorial Board; Richard D. Mathewson (formerly Manager, International editions of "Newsweek"), as General Manager; Charles Burns, formerly with "Look" and "Newsweek," as Managing Editor. Vernon Pope, former editor of "Look," is Director of the Editorial Board, Herbert Harris is the newly-appointed editor of the expanded World Business section which will make its debut in this issue. The rest of our sizeable staff remains the same, including Egbert White as Publisher, and Louis Dolivet, as International Editor.

But the bulwark of any magazine is always its readers — and their interest in the magazine. We know you will like the new editorial features we are planning — features which will bring you exciting and exclusive entertainment and information. But we hope you will write to us about your own likes and dislikes in our content. Our editors are really eager to hear from you. And won't you tell your friends about us, too? We'll be glad to send them a sample copy if you will send us their names.

The Staff of UN WORLD

THE BIG WHEAT BOOM

BY HERBERT HARRIS

Greatest crop in a decade — but belts will still be tight

Producing countries takes steps to pool exports and to peg the world price at 2 dollars — Russia and Argentina balk

SUMMER WIND BLOWS RIPE WHEAT IN MIDWESTERN FIELD

Prospects for bumper harvests make the world's wheat situation more promising than at any other time since '38. Yet any short-selling would be premature. The fact is that, despite hosannahs, many areas of desperate shortage still persist — notably in China, India, the Middle East, and in scattered sections of Latin America.

If the UN's Food and Agriculture Organization succeeds in allotting wheat on a world-wide basis, it will avoid glut in one country while the people of another go hungary.

However, the very regions which most urgently need to benefit from the promise of "*Fiat panis*" ("let there be bread" the FAO's official slogan) will for years be forced to remain on a calorie content of around, or less than, 2,250 a day — the amount nutritionists define as the dividing line between a spartan diet and slow starvation.

In Europe, the most populous wheat-eating and wheat-producing continent, the outlook is especially favorable. Plantings are higher than last year, a mild winter having fostered later sowing. In the rest of Europe, the rise in wheat acreage ranges from 7 per cent in France to 25 per cent in Sweden, and in the East data point to an over-all upward turn even though a severe drought in Hungary last summer reduced the supply of grain for seeding and hardened the soil against the plough, cutting that nation's yield by a probable 12 per cent under its 1948 target.

Throughout Europe, too, an 8 per cent growth in population over the past decade — despite 22 million deaths in World War II — has stepped up demand. Western Europe's goal is to reach the 1938 level in output and imports by 1952. Even if this is achieved, the wheat intake per person will run 6 to 7 per cent below the prewar average.

This estimate of near-sufficiency for Europe assumes that "cold war" retaliations will be relaxed and that wheat shipments from the Soviet Union and from Eastern European countries in general will increase appreciably, season by season. It also assumes that, until 1952, the blizzards which last year decimated crops in the United Kingdom and on the Continent will not recur; that blight and frosts and droughts will not be harsh; that sufficient phosphates and nitrogen will be available to infuse moribund soil with new fertility; that tractors and harvesters and other farm machinery will be delivered on schedule mainly from the US for the West and from the USSR for the East.

Aside from Europe's long-range "if's," optimism is based on three visible and measurable factors: (1) generally improved crop conditions from Northern Ireland to Rumania; (2) the export to Europe (and elsewhere) of nearly ½ billion bushels from the USA, Canada and Australia; (3) the signing by delegates from 36 nations of a five-year wheat distribution agreement sponsored by FAO.

This agreement, from which the Soviet Union and Argentina abstained, has still to be ratified by the 36 governments concerned before it can go into effect. Under its terms, a ceiling of $2.00 and a floor of $1.50 a bushel are set for wheat exported by the three primary producers (Canada, Australia, US) in the 1948-49 period. Thereafter each year, beginning one year after ratification, there will be a 10 cent a bushel reduction annually until 1953, when a minimum of $1.10 will be reached. In addition, wheat's Big Three pledge themselves to export an average of ½ billion

bushels a year (230,000,000 from Canada, and 185,000,000 each from Australia and the US). The importing nations, on their side, are pledged to buy this quantity.

The wheat pact allows bargaining only within the official price "spread" but buyers may get cheaper wheat elsewhere if they can find it.

Export-import negotiations will be conducted mainly between governments. Purchase and sale within each country will be conducted mainly between private growers and dealers and their own governments.

Under the treaty, each nation retains freedom of action in handling its internal policy on prices. And right here may be a source of grievous trouble, foreshadowed by the debates amid which the agreement was forged in Washington last March.

The British — as large-scale wheat importers — opposed price pegging over a five year stretch. They were reluctant to commit themselves for so long a time in advance to a price catalogue based upon today's scarcity and inflated costs.

They implied that as wheat yields went up, prices would come down; that, indeed, they would decline drastically in response to growing production and the restoration of "higgling," of free play in supply and demand. If they bound themselves for five years, they would somewhen be caught in the position of having to buy at inflexible base figures, artificially buttressed by the FAO, when prices on the world market were falling and perhaps had dropped below the FAO foundation.

In contrast, the exporting nations voiced the view that, in setting the price below current levels, and graduating that price downward, year by year, they were making immediate sacrifices for everybody's long-term gain.

In the first place, this arrangement would avoid wild fluctuations, arising from paucity of one harvest and abundance of the next.

In the second place, it protected the importing groups against such price gougings as those recently practiced by Argentina in extorting $5.90 a bushel.

In the third place, it would lift the distribution of wheat out of the interplay of "power politics" and restore it to its rightful place as an item of food instead of a weapon of ideological coercion.

In return for these benefits, they felt that the least they could be guaranteed was a stable demand at reasonable compensation; without this guarantee it would be impossible to promote needed plantings. Wheat growers, for example, uncertain of markets and lacking predetermined prices would reduce acreage. Finally, the export bloc pointed out, the covenant empowers the FAO's International Wheat Council to alter prices, within definite margins, to meet unforeseen emergencies, thus insuring a degree of flexibility.

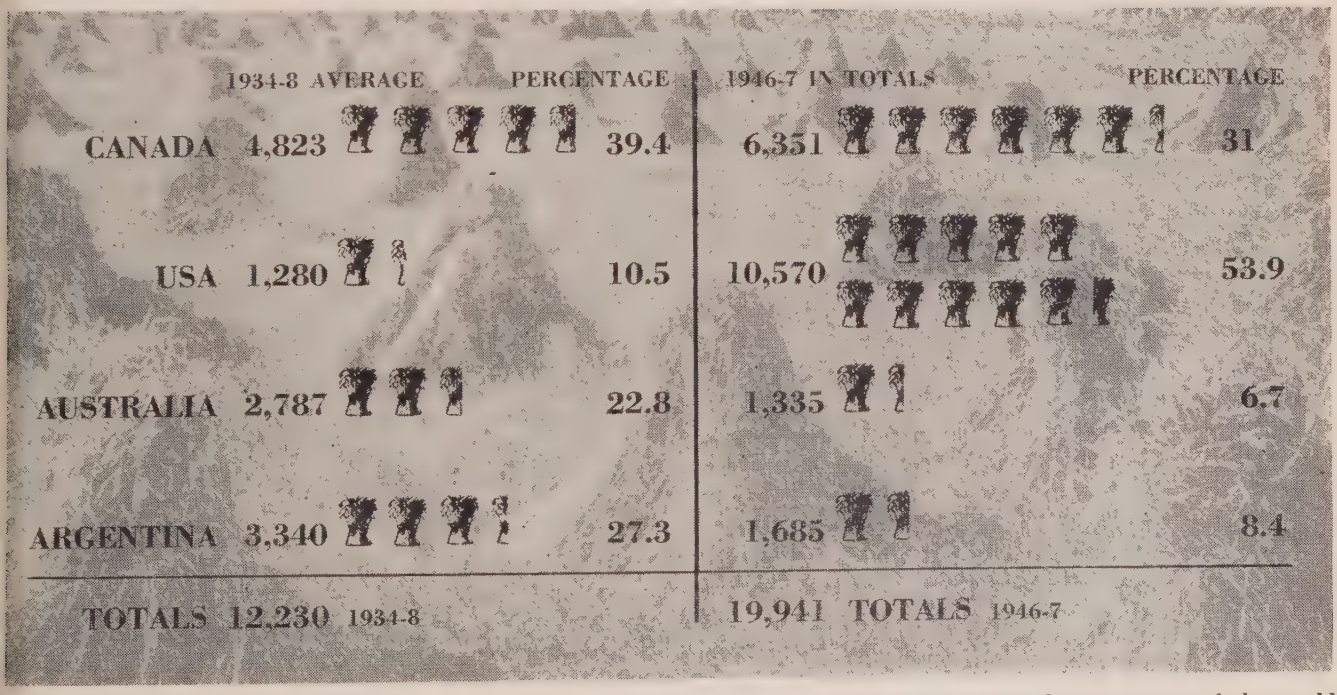
It is not without irony that, in this interchange, the British delegates, speaking for a Labor Government which promotes economic planning, should have championed the doctrine of laissez-faire, while the American delegates, speaking for a government that stands for "free enterprise" should have defended economic planning — and on a global scale.

Controversy between the export and import nations was resolved by a series of delicate and difficult compromises. The international discords forecast the kind of hurdles the pact must clear within various nations before it becomes more than a paper proposal.

In the US, for example, like any other trade "treaty" — it must be sanctioned by two-thirds of the Senate. Feed and mill factions are mobilizing grass-roots resistance to Senate approval, especially among those with a vested interest in super-boom grain sales.

In grange-halls, in trade journals, in rural papers, in throwaways stuffed into RFD mailboxes, government

HOW THE BIG FOUR'S WHEAT EXPORTS HAVE SHIFTED (In 1000 metric tons)



THIS CHART shows the absolute and comparative growth — from one-tenth to more than one-half — in the US share of big-four wheat exports in 14 years. In 1934-8 Canada, US, Australia and Argentina exported 73 per cent of the world aggregate. This figure rose to 97 per cent in 1946, excluding the USSR which in 1934-8 supplied only 4.1 per cent of the total.

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"meddling" with wheat prices is being denounced. Machinations of "bureaucracy," rather than speculative frenzy and excellent crop prospects abroad, are blamed for the nine-day decline of American wheat from $2.93 a bushel on February 2 to $2.37 on February 11, before moving back to is current $2.46.

The entire campaign is designed to whip up an already deep-seated resentment among US farmers. The American grower is told that, while Argentina can "hold a pistol to the head" of wheat importing countries, he is penalized, asked to act unselfishly and watch others get the gravy. This is a particularly sore spot because, even without the FAO pact, the existence of ERP would assure huge steady foreign revenues for at least four years.

The US Stake in Stability

However, agricultural leaders as a group are supporting the FAO agreement on the ground that it is a step in the direction of that security of markets which, over the long run, is to be preferred to higher profits for a short run. They are aware, also, that stabilization will aid in a healthy, gradual deflation of US farm prices and of prices generally.

The chances are 65 to 35 that the Senate, under pressure from both the large conservative Farm Bureau Federation and the small liberal Farmers Union, lobbying for some 75 per cent of wheat growers who favor the FAO plan, will approve the pact without too many caponizing amendments.

The sturm-und-drang this issue rouses reflects a stupendous expansion of America's stake in world wheat — a trade in which it played only a minor role as late as 1938. At that time Canada, Argentina and Australia respectively exported 5, 4, and 3 times as much wheat as did America.

By the end of World War II, America was the world's largest wheat exporter, while exports from the three former leaders had remained virtually constant. American farmers, therefore, nowadays regard foreign outlets almost as important as domestic. And UN agricultural experts look upon American wheat output as the crucial factor in the world situation for at least the next five years.

Despite the publicity focussed on the overseas wheat harvests, they are not relatively impressive. Argentina's projected 1948 crop of 230 million bushels and Australia's 200 will be exceeded by 50 million bushels in the state of Kansas alone.

Even with America's amazing advance in output, its 1948 crop may not suffice to serve all the purposes expected of it. "Normal" US wheat consumption is around 510 million bushels for food; 150 for feed; 88 for seed; 2 for whisky and packaged cereals. In addition to this total of 750 m.b., national law requires a reserve or "carry-over" of 100 to 150 m.b., varying with the size of the crop. The total earmarked for domestic use can therefore be set as about 900 million bushels.

In the year beginning July 1948 the US wheat on hand will hit the 1200 m.b. mark, 1100 from harvest and 100 from the carry-over. But since 900 m.b. must be used at home, only 300 will be left for export. Yet to carry out its part of the FAO agreement, the US is bound to provide 185 m.b. to importing nations who signed the pact with it, and another 25 m.b. to non-signatories. It must furthermore, send some 145 m.b. to US occupation zones in Germany, Austria, Japan and Korea.

It requires no complicated mathematics to see that this demand will be 55 m.b. above the amount that will be available. Somebody somewhere will have to get less. It is this combination of circumstances that lends a certain logic to the bullish views expressed by veteran speculators in the wheat pits of Chicago and elsewhere.

Meanwhile, attacks upon FAO's attempt to form an international wheat "cartel," and at the same time "supplant private free trading by state trade," will mount in intensity.

It will be charged that FAO controls will degenerate into regimentation; that planning of the kind epitomized by the FAO is "like a short blanket — if you pull it up around your neck your feet stick out;" that there are too many unpredictables in raising wheat to permit such advance agreements, and the like.

In any event, the FAO pact remains the first critical test case as to whether in today's world it is either practical or possible to organize trade in a basic commodity on a genuinely global scale.

What American Labor Thinks

Of the American Enterprise System

BY ARTHUR PEARCE and LUIS VILLANON

Fortunately for the success of ERP and related undertakings, the American worker has a strong faith in the value and validity of America's democratic free enterprise system.

These attitudes are established by surveys, covering workers in the eastern and middle-western states, recently conducted by Ross-Federal Research Corp. for *Modern Industry* and prepared exclusively for the UNITED NATIONS WORLD.

This survey assists in answering the question troubling half the world: Will the people of the United States, embarked on a costly and ambitious experiment in world leadership, follow that program through to the end, or will they lose interest and let a bold and exciting start fizzle off into failure?

One cannot get that answer by catechizing the American people on their reactions to such abstractions as the ERP, ITO, or even the UN.

The realist must accept the hard, infrangible fact that the American, like the national of any other country, will primarily judge all these ventures by what they do to his own fortunes, his own prospects and pocketbook. This applies as much to American labor, as to American management, or any other group.

Recurrent strikes have frightened (or heartened) those who do not expect America to fulfill the task of putting the Western world back on its feet. That fear is the result of a misconception.

In America, strikes are merely one aspect of collective bargaining. They are not undertaken to win elections, embarrass a government, or precipitate the chaos on which revolutionary doctrines thrive. They represent simply the perpetual jockeying for advantageous positions among economic factions in a free society. They reflect a contest, a tug of war, over who gets what from industry's earnings. They are in no wise a conflict over the principles on which that industry is founded and functions.

The fact of over-all significance which emerges from this survey is that American workers do not share the view that the US economy will soon crumble from inherent infirmities. They do not go to their jobs in an atmosphere of personal insecurity and worriment. They do not get up every morning anticipating a crash on the 1929 model. They do not, in short, expect economic disaster. Otherwise, they would be less willing to help America with its two major exports: (1) a modest but noticeable portion of the fruits of her democratic free enterprise system; and (2) faith in the workability of that system.

Despite inflated prices and a shrinking dollar, only 28 per cent of the American public as a whole believe that depression is likely within the next year or two. Fifty five per cent expect no trouble, and the remaining 17 per cent frankly "don't know."

Contrary to the public attitude, union members — probably subject to more depression scuttle-butt than any other group — take an even more sanguine view: 59 per cent expect continued prosperity.

However, the US worker does expect a drastic change in the economic climate within the next 24 months. On the question of "deflation," in contrast to "depression," three out of five said they expect the present inflationary spiral to end within the next two years.

Only 37 per cent, though, expect this deflation to be accompanied by unemployment, pay envelope cuts, and hard times in general.

A larger segment, 44 per cent, thinks it will be confined to a desirable drop in living costs, or recognizes it as a useful step toward stabilizing the domestic economy.

Even more important, 96 per cent don't expect to lose their own jobs or otherwise to be adversely affected by the advent of deflation.

This attitude carries special weight since, the survey revealed, 9 out of 10 workers are more interested in security than in higher pay. Almost as many are satisfied with their present employment, on both counts.

Seventy three per cent don't expect to strike in 1948, though 10 per cent do, and 17 per cent aren't sure.

Seven in 10 feel that the jobs they now have yield income enough to provide a "reasonably comfortable" living, by typical American standards.

Moreover, 87 per cent express all around satisfaction with present working conditions. (This includes both union and non-union labor.) Even when wages are the subject for questioning, there is little difference between organized and unorganized (see table below). In this take-home area, the degree of discontent is surprisingly slight, in view of current living costs. Nearly 70 per cent of all workers, including unionists, think that their wages are fair:

"Does your present job pay you enough to give you a reasonably comfortable living, or are you unable to buy many things you need because your job doesn't pay enough?"

	Present job pays enough	Job does not pay enough	No answer
All jobholders	68%	31%	1%
Union members	64	36	
Nonunion workers	70	29	1

When this query was amended by inquiring as to whether present pay would be fair if it weren't for high prices, the index of wage satisfaction rose to 92 per cent for all jobholders, and 97 per cent for unionists.

Mounting prices are undoubtedly the sore spot in the American economy. Poll takers for the survey also found that 89 per cent of all American consumers (including labor) contend that prices are "very high," while only 6 per cent say that they are a "bit high," 4 per cent say "spotty," and just 1 per cent say they are "reasonable."

Moreover, the overwhelming majority consider prices to be excessive when measured against almost every conceivable yardstick: income, quality of merchandise, or recollections of pre-war price tags.

It is no revelation to find that virtually all Americans regard prices as too high — but it is startling to discover that only 7 per cent blame shipments abroad for this condition. Even if the 8 per cent who believe that government policies in general are at fault were to be added, the total opposition to our international programs reaches a top of only 15 per cent. And at that only 4 per cent of this alignment would ship less abroad as a method for reducing prices at home.

Since many pressure groups have been trying to exploit price discontents as one way of putting over their panaceas, it is worth noting how the public divides its censure:

"What do you consider chiefly responsible for the high prices (of articles mentioned as being priced higher than they should be)?"

Labor, labor demands for high wages; strikes	**27%**
General opportunism and profiteering by "everyone," and specifically by "big business," "management," "monopolies," "middlemen," "wholesalers," "retailers," "farmers," the "black market"	**27%**
Shortages; pent-up demand	**8%**
Government policies, Congress, etc.	**8%**
Shipping too much to Europe	**7%**
Lifting of price controls	**6%**
Inflation	**4%**
People are to blame for paying high prices	**3%**
Manufacturing costs	**2%**
Miscellaneous	**5%**
No opinion	**16%**

In any such cross-section, more people necessarily belong to the "labor" than to the "business" category. Despite this, the sins of labor and of business are equally condemned.

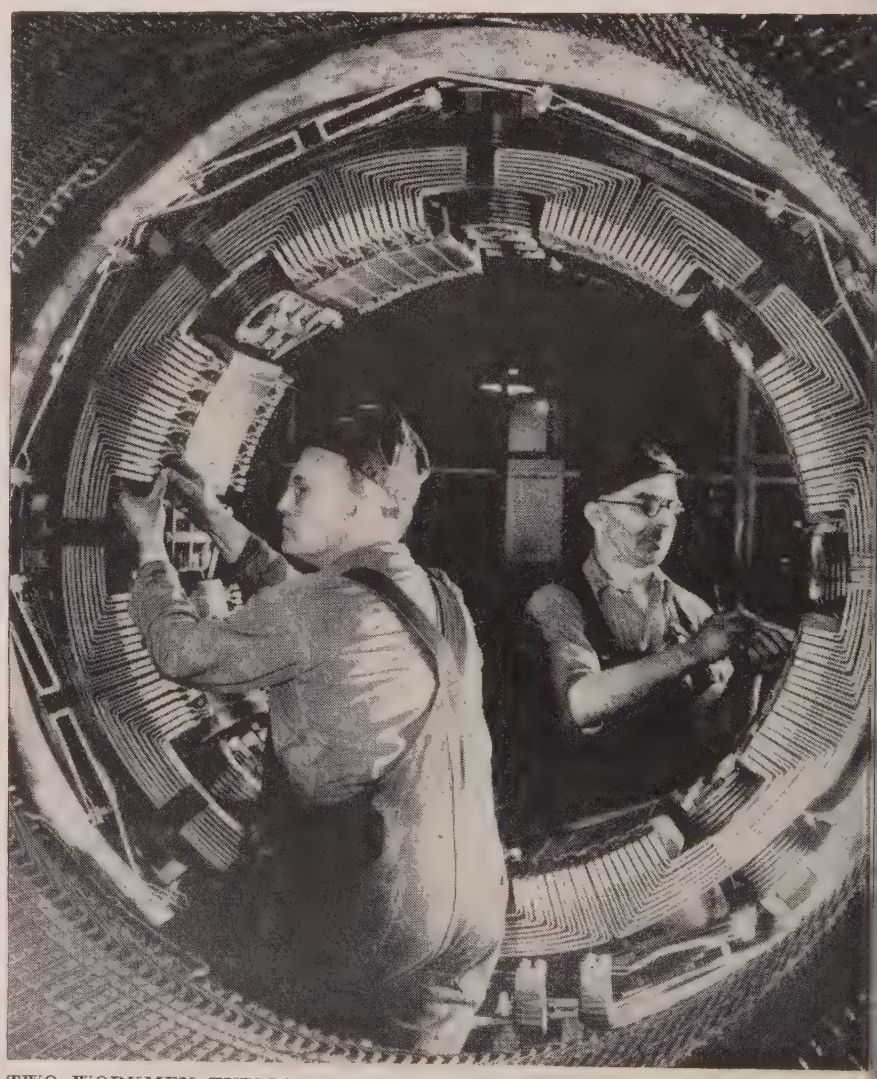
It would be foolish to infer from this survey that the US is a land flowing with milk and honey for everyone, and that serious worker gripes do not exist. When read negatively, for example, the responses to the query on wage satisfaction show that, despite vast advances over the past 15 years, nearly one-third (31 per cent) of US labor still considers itself insufficiently paid and not able to afford a "reasonably comfortable" living.

However, even sharp dissatisfaction with one's income is hardly the prelude to revolt. All workers interviewed in this survey, including those who felt themselves under-paid, displayed trust in the normal processes of collective bargaining, in a number of ways. Seventy-eight per cent, for example, are "pretty well satisfie with officials of their local union, against 9 per cent who are not.

Forty-one per cent of union me bers believe they can count on gettir a fair shake from management, compared to 36 who do not, ar 23 per cent who are undecided.

Such ratios together with other su vey figures, do not indicate any ne era of labor-management bliss. O the other hand, they demonstrate th the American worker is convinced th more is right than wrong with h world, and that he had the chance an the medium for improving his lot.

So long as the American worke feels as he does now, he will co tinue impervious to the scare propa ganda that American underwriting o global recovery threatens his own i terests. He will remain equally im pervious to extremist attacks upon th merits of his democratic free ente prise system.



TWO WORKMEN TYPICAL OF THOSE QUESTIONED IN THIS SURVEY

Memo To Policy Makers

Never before in world history have such opportunities opened up for businessmen. For the American businessman in particular, the challenge of exploring the new horizons of world trade is quite as great as the challenge which faced the pioneers moving westward in their Conestoga wagons.

As a century ago Americans wrested a new free way of life from the wilderness, so today Americans may — not by war, but by work — help create a peaceful prosperous world. Drawing on the resourcefulness and know-how which are sign and seal of American business, they can build homes and cities and markets and industries in the near and far places of the earth.

In the war of ideas that is shaking the world today, deeds — and not words — will decide who wins. Whether in board-room, or on factory floor, US management is up against showdown alternatives to the system it symbolizes. This contest over ways of life can be won by US businessmen only if they rise to their full responsibilities as economic statesmen.

To enable the policy maker in private and public business to keep informed of what happens along the new trade routes of the world — and why — forthcoming issues of the World Business Department will feature:

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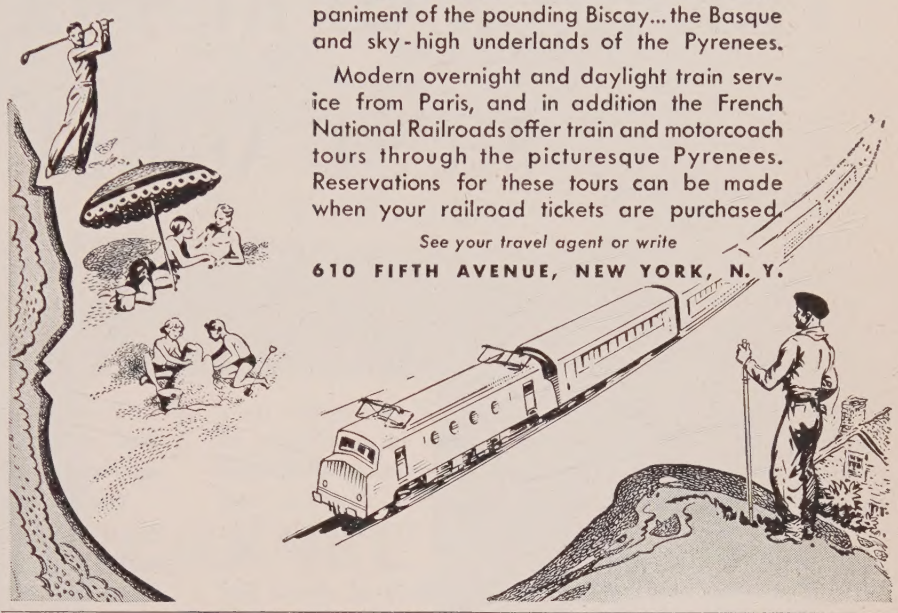

Free Trade — Free World

By Oswald Garrison Villard. New York. Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, $3.00.

Ever since Alexander Hamilton wrapped our "infant industries" in the swaddling clothes of "imperative import duty," the issue of free trade vs. protectionism has been a vortex of conflict in US politics.

The special service which Mr. Villard renders in this book is to explode most of the ingrained illusions about the role of tariffs and trade in a clear, interesting fashion especially suited for a lay audience.

Mr. Villard refutes, for example, the ivy-grown argument that imports necessarily threaten the living standards of US labor. In Great Britain, he points out, the radio and automobile industries pay less than do their opposite numbers in America. But the superiority of America's mass production techniques, enabling US labor to produce much more at smaller cost, serves to cancel out any competitive advantage that Britain might gain from lower wages.

Mr. Villard's support of the view that "to free the world we must first free trade" is so strong that he tends — like all advocates — to claim more for his case than the facts justify. He therefore foreshortens and even distorts the picture.

To be sure, the abolition of embargoes, quotas, blocked sterling areas and other restrictions will help to speed the movement of commodities among nations. But these methods cannot alone perform that function. Equally important are such considerations as extension of credits, currency stabilization, the sharing of techniques, all of which Mr. Villard neglects.

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AN EDITORIAL — BY TRYGVE LIE
Secretary General of the United Nations

THE US AND RUSSIA MUST AGREE

ON THESE TWO POINTS

The possibility that the Powers might get together for a fresh examination of their differences in an attempt to break the East-West impasse was welcomed in all corners of the world with significant enthusiasm. Nowhere was the expression of approval and relief more evident than in the United Nations.

It was the first break in a solid chain of events and portents which had ever widened the gap between the East and West since they laid down their arms in 1945.

Until this break there had been all too-strong an inclination in many quarters to accept the thesis that conflict between the leading member states of the United Nations was a permanent and inescapable feature of the world political situation.

Such a conflict between the principal powers is still regarded by most of the nations of the world, and by the mass of its population, as a strange and unnatural state of affairs which must end, one day, in a new and successful attempt at understanding.

There are certain minimum requirements to such an understanding if it is to be permanent and effective.

1 *It must involve an agreement in regard to the Peace Treaties with Germany and Japan.*

2 *It must, within the councils of the United Nations, include agreements on the control of atomic energy, conventional armaments and the constitution of an international force to serve under the Security Council.*

Anticipation of basic agreement was the very keystone of the United Nations under the San Francisco Charter.

One of the fundamental principles of the United Nations is that it shall include all of the Great Powers, and the largest possible number of other peace-loving nations.

It was the very essence of the whole United Nations idea that there should be agreement between the Big Powers as the core for widespread agreement among all of the nations and as the necessary basis for effective action on all matters of international moment which came before the United Nations.

True enough, experience has proved that the Unite Nations can exist and can accomplish much, without suc agreement between all of the Great Powers.

The Security Council has effectively dealt with man matters, notwithstanding the veto and the fact that man of the items before it have been deeply controversial. Th Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Counc and the General Assembly have done much fine work i many fields and the Specialized Agencies have forge ahead with their special tasks.

This has happened because the nation members an outsiders as well have had respect for the United Nation and have found it absolutely vital as a center for negoti tion and discussion.

Insofar as the United Nations has been used, i machinery has worked efficiently — within the limits in posed by the wishes of the member nations.

Where organs of the United Nations have failed t provide effective solutions to problems, it has been due t the inability or the reluctance of the nation member themselves to agree upon such decisions among themselve

Where such decisions have been lacking, or have n secured the general consent of the membership, we hav usually been able to find Big-Power disagreement, o simply lack of agreement.

How much more might be accomplished if we had Bi Power agreement on the fundamental issues outstandin between them particularly on the peace treaties. We ma assume that the United Nations would be able, as it h never been able in the past, to give full attention to t mountainous accumulation of economic and social pro lems which faces it. The vast sums now being devoted rearmament might be diverted to other more constructi purposes. Problems which now defy the organs of t United Nations could be settled as a matter of routine.

The point is that such an agreement must come a that the nations must never abandon their attempts find it. This is expected of them, by the United Natio and by all men of good faith.

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